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## EUROPE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE EFFORT

by Jože BRILEJ

State Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs

IN THE POST-WAR period Europe has passed through various phases of development, she has played various roles in international events, but she never has regained that position which she held up to the beginning of the Second World War. Europe has been transformed, and the balance of forces in the world, too, have changed fundamentally. And in this new situation Europe as a whole is still unsettled, for she has not yet found either herself or her true place in the post-war world.

Before the Second World War Europe was the seat of world power, and it was in accordance with her and her great powers that the other continents aligned themselves. Europe was the centre of military, economic and political might in the world.

The victory of the democratic coalition in the Second World War saved Europe from fascism, her worst internal threat. The victorious liberation movements of the colonial peoples have put her in the place which she will occupy in the future, on the basis of her own forces

and her own resourcefulness. The centres of world power have shifted toward the East and the West: Europe finds herself hemmed in between the two largest colossi in the world. As soon as the cold war began, Europe became its central stage and very soon was to feel its consequences. The cold war front divided an already weakened Europe into two parts, two military alliances, two economic areas, which proceeded to develop almost without any mutual connection. The very thought of general European co-operation sounded like a beautiful but empty dream, and at the height of the cold war it was even looked upon as betrayal.

Ten normal years in the life of a nation or even a continent do not amount to much. But ten years of the cold war which, in fact, has not yet entirely stopped, have had numerous harmful consequences in all domains of a divided Europe — economic, cultural and political. They have been years of intensive effort by the people of Europe on both sides of the cold war front for the quicker reconstruction of their war-devastated economy



and its speedier development, years of systematization of the chaotic post-war conditions, and years, marked by both successful and unsuccessful efforts to create, on the foundations of the one-time European cultural heritage, new works which will correspond to the new epoch. The entire building process on either side of the cold war front proceeded not only in isolation, without any possibility of favourable mutual influence, let alone co-operation, but even in an atmosphere of deliberate mystification of actual developments, an atmosphere of deliberate superiority on each side regarding his own undertakings, each with the devout desire and in the firm expectation that all that was being built on the other side would at any moment burst like a bubble.

With the relaxation of the cold war the artificial fog, too, is slowly lifting from the front line, and the horizons of reality are slowly beginning to become clear. The development of modern war technology too, has pushed the front of a still unimaginable real war far back into the rear, so that the "front line" itself has lost much of its effective and even more of its ascribed significance. The idea of co-existence which, judging by first signs, has won victories at the extreme poles, is gradually blazing a trail, from both sides, towards a divided Europe.

For Europe, too, this has created a brand-new situation. The Continent as a whole is being confronted with fresh tasks and, by the same token, fresh problems.

In the first place, Europe has an immense opportunity of making a stimulating and creative contribution to the positive developments which have been increasingly manifest since the beginning of this year and which were further confirmed and encouraged by the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting. The need for further international contacts and understanding, and also the further abatement of the cold war on its actual front as it were, confronts Europe integrally and each European country individually with its greatest and most pressing task. The doing away with the division of Europe and the building of a solid system of collective European security is an indispensable condition in international affairs for the furtherance of her interests and of those of all European countries, as well as for the consolidation of peace in Europe and in the world...

In the light of the today's world situation, Europe can play a more significant role, only in conditions of peace. It is unnecessary to waste words on what her fate would be in a possible future war. The maintenance of international tensions is putting Europe in an inferior position, for in the consideration of a global war her interests are inevitably subordinated to the interests and requirements of global strategy. The armaments race is becoming an unbearable burden even for far larger and richer countries than European ones. Independent arming — in spite of every effort — is becoming less and less adequate and efficacious, and is like pulling down the house to save it from fire.

In the absence of such basic orientation and concrete efforts towards the consolidation of peace, in the world of today even the most benevolent efforts to preserve any sort of active role for Europe in the future must inevitably be fruitless. Modern development requires such enormous efforts, such strong forces and

such means as a divided and dispersed Europe does not possess today, nor is there any prospect that they will be available to her in the foreseeable future.

Europe's intensified efforts for the further abatement of the cold war and for undertaking the first concrete steps toward the consolidation of peace must, of course, start from the actual situation such as exists today in Europe and the world. In other words, only the status quo can serve as the starting point. Given the present-day world balance of power which, after all, is what has brought about the improvement of the herto situation, it is impossible to conceive of any unilateral move which would essentially affect this in any way. Every glance backwards means automatically a lagging behind and also a check on the latest favourable developments in the world. There is not the slightest doubt that, in the final analysis, any retardment of the present course would be to the detriment not only of Europe as a whole, but of each individual European country, no matter on what side of the bloc-line it might find itself.

The results of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting have opened fresh perspectives to Europe. Conditions have been created for Europe to find herself, to play a significant role in the most pressing task facing the world, namely, the liquidation of the cold war and consolidation of peace. And that is the only way to strengthen the importance and role of Europe in the world events large, now and in the future.

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## A Vain Programme

— Apropos the SPD Congress in Bad Godesberg —

by Dr. Mladen IVEKOVIĆ

THE LATENT internal crisis which has prevailed in the West German Social-Democratic Party (SPD) since its defeat in the parliamentary elections of 1953 reached its epilogue at the Party's Extraordinary Congress in Bad Godesberg in November this year. It is highly questionable whether that intriguing epilogue at the same time represents also a definitive break with the often very vehement internal discussions about the place, the tasks and the ideological-political lines of a party which continues to call itself socialist even after the adoption of a new programme. One thing is certain, though: the Congress of the SPD in Bad Godesberg marks very prominently the continuation of a process of adjustment of West European social-democracy to the postulates of the relative prosperity of the Western post-war economy, and by that token also to the social-political tendencies of the ruling class towards the socialist world in the East. That process is not confined merely to the West German Social-Democratic Party. Almost coincidentally, and in an almost identical mode, programme consultations and suitable conclusions are recorded in a whole series of European socialist parties. The Austrian Socialist Party led the way when it adopted its new programme in May of last year, which unquestionably strongly influenced the ideological-political and economic formulations of the Bad Godesberg Programme and which, more than that, had sent the creator of its own programme, Dr. Benedikt Kautsky, to help the West German Social-Democrats. (According to the admission of the leadership itself of the SPD, Kautsky made a signal contribution to the drafting of the SPD's new programme by virtue of his „great experience and knowledge“.) The ferment which just about concurrently swept the Austrian, Dutch and Swiss socialists, became intensified also among the British Labour Party, especially after their recent defeat in the British General Election. Still earlier, Guy Mollet's French socialists (SFIO) had carried out a thorough revision of their socialist orientation, identifying themselves *de facto* with the aspirations of the French ruling circles. The trends of those ferments are fairly similar, that is, they have tabled the question of socialist, class content of socialist parties in the post-war transitional period, which has been marked, on the one hand, by a constant influence of the revolutionary victories of socialism in many countries, and on the other by the efforts of the ruling class to steer the class struggle towards compromise with the working class by consolidating the bourgeois-democratic form of the State. Those

tendencies actually sought to codify a state of affairs which had already come to dominate *de facto* the day-to-day practice and policy of those parties.

What gave its specific stamp to the ferment in the ranks of West German Social-Democracy and also became apparent in the newly-adopted Bad Godesberg Programme is the fact of the existence of two German states, one of which, that where the SPD is active and which is the only one recognized by SPD as a democratic State, belongs to the Western „free world“, while the other one belongs to the Communist camp, which the SPD identifies, flatly and in the same way as the representatives of a majority of the bourgeois parties, with totalitarianism and a ruthless single-party rule. The existence of that other state, and also of all the other Eastern socialist countries, is exclusively based on the stifling of human freedom and dignity, according to the leadership of the SPD. The new Programme of the SPD starts from the principled premiss that the so-called democratic socialism has not, nor can have, anything in common with socialist achievements in the countries with a one-party system. It absolutely refuses to recognize such achievements. All it sees is that in those countries „an economic and military rule is being created on the backs of the people which increasingly threatens freedom“.

Direct contact between the two German states with their varying destinies and state organizations, the direct and tangible example which the single policy and regime in the German Democratic Republic has represented for the whole West German public for years since the war, until quite lately, have caused the political orientation of the SPD to be handicapped by the question of the subsistence of that other „pseudo-State“ and the question of German unification as the prime and immediate task of the Party. Hence, too, that sharply-accented anti-Communist note which marks the new Programme of the SPD and which became manifest in an even more acute form in the stand of certain leading personalities of the SPD at the Congress in Bad Godesberg.

By this we mean to say that, more than some other West European socialist parties, the SPD has been strongly influenced by the specific circumstances of a divided Germany while building its new Programme. The whole past activity of the SPD's leadership indicates that in this a particular, and no small, role has also been played by the circumstance that in the political life of all the West German parties, real German patriotism has been measured by the extent to which one was

\* The second part of this article will be published in the following number.



espousing German unification and opposing the East German „pseudo-Republic“.

Kurt Schumacher passionately denounced the efforts of the West German right of centre — in which a certain role was also played by the former Allied occupation authorities — to accuse the German Social-Democrats of being the „forerunners and assistants“ of Communism. During subsequent development, when the SPD accepted understandingly certain initiatives of the Soviet Government regarding relaxation of international tensions and accord, the charges of the Right and the Bonn Government circles against the „pro-Soviet orientation“ of the SPD only gained in intensity. The discussions which were conducted inside the SPD after the 1953 and 1957 elections for the Bundestag regarding the necessary structure and content of the Party narrowed down to whether the Party should be made attractive to those segments of the people which were apprehensive of the „red“ or Marxist quality of the SPD and who therefore refused to vote for it, or whether that quality ought to be retained and, moreover, implemented with greater consistency. Actually, in the struggle for power with CDU, the SPD has always been under pressure of the defamations of its political opponents about a reputed social-democratic radicalism on the internal level and about a suspicious conniving with the anti-Western forces on the international level, this last primarily because it conducted a sharp parliamentary campaign against the inclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany into the military-political alliance and NATO and against German rearmament. On the internal level (nationalization of the key industries, the demand for enlarged workers' rights of co-deciding, etc.) and on the foreign-political level, German Social-Democracy is therefore seen to have had a „mortgage“ while, for the above reasons, certain leading factors of the SPD found increasingly difficult to support. That „mortgage“ was to be liquidated.

The SPD contested the parliamentary elections of Western Germany on three occasions, in 1949, 1953 and 1957. It was defeated three times by the Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) of Chancellor Adenauer, the strongest party today in the Federal Republic of Germany. In all these elections for the Bundestag, the SPD managed to poll a round 30 per cent of the votes cast, viz. 29.2, 28.8 and 31.8 per cent respectively, while the CDU, after starting with 31 per cent in 1949 was able to poll 45.1 per cent of the votes in 1953, and 39.7 per cent in 1957.

According to the latest data, the SPD today numbers about 650,000 members. It is the second-strongest political force in the Federal Republic of Germany, after Adenauer's CDU, and the third-strongest party inside the Socialist International, after the Labour Party and the Swedish party. The size of the SPD's membership today is approximately that of the party membership in the whole former Weimar Republic.

So far the German Social-Democrats have not managed to reach their goal to break the power monopoly of the Christian-Democratic Union, in spite of the clear slogan put out by them in the election campaign preceding all those three elections for the Bundestag. The votes polled by the SPD have constantly stood at about

30 per cent of the total, and the number of the SPD's voters has stabilized itself somewhere around 8 millions. But this imposing figure is still inadequate to challenge the force represented by Adenauer's CDU with over 12 million voters. Figures have clearly shown — even though the SPD's leadership has been reluctant to admit it — that a considerable number of worker's votes were going to the government parties, the CDU in the first place. This was best revealed by the election results in individual highly-industrialized Lands, e. g. in the Ruhr area (North Rhine-Westphalia), where the CDU did better than the SPD thanks, to a considerable extent, to the workers' votes.

The 1953 elections for the Bundestag actually represented the beginning of internal and public discussions among the West German Social-Democrats as to what their Party and policy ought to be like in order to attract to their ranks, or to be able to count as their voters, those segments of the population which, „by the nature of their social position“, ought to be their allies, but who are either politically indifferent or else give their support to the Right. The question arose, in all its acuteness, of how to exceed the traditional 30 per cent, to defeat the CDU, to become the strongest party and thus legitimate and qualify the SPD for government. The SPD's defeat in the 1953 elections, when it polled 28.8 per cent of the votes compared to the CDU's 45.1 per cent, caused alarm among members of a strong (Right) wing in the leadership of the Party which openly tabled the demand for the Party's reorganization and a fundamental change of policy. For, one should not forget that right up to the SPD's 1958 Congress in Stuttgart, the programme of the West German Social-Democrats (the Dortmund Action Programme of 1952) included the demand for both nationalization of the major basic industries and the class, labour character of its political organization. It was a workers' Party which was still attached to the Marxist tradition and terminology of the class struggle from the Heidelberg Programme of 1925.

However, in the critical years of 1953-54, and also subsequently, the emphasis of the SPD's political activity was on foreign-political problems, highlighting first of all the demand for agreement between the Big Four regarding German unification, in the belief that agreement would be feasible if the Western powers and the Bonn Government itself renounced the creation of the European Defence Community and the European Army. The SPD conducted the sharpest struggle against the uncompromising attachment of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Western military-political system and against integration in the so-called Little Europe. Under the leadership of the SPD and the Unified Trade Unions (DGB), for a time in 1954 the Federal Republic of Germany was the scene of extensive activity of the masses against German rearmament even before the realization of the West European Union and before the inclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany in NATO. Opposing the policy of Chancellor Adenauer and the Bonn Government, the SPD demanded that Bonn conclude no treaties with the West and that it assume no commitments which could frustrate or handicap Germany's unification. In the remilitarization of Germany, under the conditions of bloc-strain and the general arms race, the German



Social-Democrats also saw a threat to the democratic order itself in their country. Ever since Schuhmacher's time they warned of real danger and fought against the growing restoration tendencies in the Federal Republic of Germany on the economic, political and military level.

But, as we have already underlined above, in its anxiety to win over the politically indifferent and middle segments (and also in the belief that the number of workers' votes cannot be increased essentially), the leadership of the SPD systematically avoided, even during the 1953 pre-election campaign, featuring demands in its programme for workers' management, the nationalization of key industries and a planned economy, in general avoiding emphasizing a socialist programme in any way.

It was shown in practice that the Heidelberg Programme of 1925 and the Dortmund Action Programme of 1952 were still existent, but only formally, and that the SPD's leadership was directing itself towards the revision of their fundamental premisses.

\* \* \*

We do not propose to dwell here on the extensive and exciting discussion in the ranks of the West German Social-Democrats after their failure in the 1953 Elections. As is known, at that moment the right wing of the Party's leadership set forward the demand to convert the SPD into „a large liberal popular party (Volkspartei) freed from all Marxist ballast". The class labour basis of the Party should be replaced by a fresh content, from a vanguard Party the SPD should be made into a larger and more relaxed organization which would finally turn its back on the „outlived and transcended" science of Marx and which would renounce its traditional socialist symbols. With brief interruptions, that discussion continued from 1953 until this year's Extraordinary Congress in Bad Godesberg. It flared up anew especially after the SPD's further defeat in the 1957 Elections. However, it is pertinent to stress that the advocates of the Party's reform in the described sense met with fairly strong resistance among the workers' ranks and in the basic Social-Democratic organizations. It is there, too, that

one should seek the reason a „codification" of reforms only took place six years after the question had been tabled. The omnipotence of the Party apparatus had overcome the sporadic and unorganized resistance of the workers.

Under the new conditions of social and international development, that discussion about the place and tasks of the German Social-Democratic Party was somewhat reminiscent of the time of Bernstein's revisionism, when the Social-Democrats became split into „orthodox Marxists" and „revisionists". The difference is that the today's West German Social-Democracy has not produced any very significant party theoretician, but takes the same basic premiss of the „reformers" that the working-class should emancipate itself from antiquated theories, that its position under capitalism must constantly grow worse and that the capitalist society is headed for inescapable doom. Of course, adjusting itself to the new conditions, a fact which was stressed all the time at the Congress in Bad Godesberg, the SPD went much further — it did not raise the question of the revision of Marxism but buried both Bernsteinism and Marxism by denying any connection with either, so that its new programme actually does not differ in its basic premisses from the programme of a liberal bourgeois party.

At all events, we are witnessing very similar ideological ferments in the British Labour Party, in whose case, after its recent third defeat in the parliamentary elections, identical problems appeared on the agenda. The discussion now going on between the streams in the ranks of the Labour Party with the aim of pinning down the causes of their failures in the elections narrows down to the assertion of one group that a part of the voters, from the ranks of the politically-undecided and middle classes, are not turning to and are voting for Labour on account of the „outlived and obsolete" character of the Party, on account of the „terrifying myth" of nationalization of industry, on account of the close integration with the labour unions; and to the assertion of the others that the reason lies precisely in the fact that the Party has not been sufficiently consistent and resolute in the application of the elements of the so-

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cialist programme, that it has not featured the demands for expansion of nationalization, and so on. One stream, then, is espousing the thesis of "too much socialism", and the other the thesis of "too little socialism" — both arguing that therein lie the real reasons for the decrease or stagnation of the forces of the Labour Party. Undoubtedly, the condition and ferment among the German Social-Democrats has exerted a certain influence on Labour's attitudes, and vice versa. This is comprehensible, too, considering the fairly close integration of these parties inside the Socialist International. Besides, both have experienced three times running the same fate in parliamentary elections during the post-

war period, which has witnessed their countries' emergence from the economic crisis, an increase of prosperity, relatively full employment, the foreign-political assertion of their governments. But even so, the "re-forming" current does not seem to have gained the upper hand among British Labour thus far, as it has in the ranks of the West German Social-Democrats. In any case, even the discussions themselves now going on in the Labour Party reveal a far greater understanding by a considerable part of the British Labour Movement of the possibilities and forms of struggle of a socialist party in present conditions than the German Social-Democrats have shown.

## The Development of the Independence Movement in Africa

— The Colonizers and the Peoples —

by L. ERVEN

CONFRONTED with the anti-colonial movement and the increasingly tenacious struggle of the African peoples for independence, the colonial powers have been reacting in different ways. It is possible to distinguish a whole scale of forms of colonial policy which are being applied today, from the notorious regime of disfranchisement and backwardness to different degrees of self-government and local government with a restrained jurisdiction and, finally to acceptance of independence as being won, or as being the only possible solution. But this scale of forms of colonial policy does not serve for the classification of the colonial powers, for they do not adhere consistently to one method, but apply a varying policy in different parts of their colonial domains. Only the Union of South Africa and Portugal are regrettably consistent in their policy of terror and discrimination. Those two states continue to maintain the discredited order of classical colonialism, in contrast to and despite the changes which have taken place both in African affairs and in international ideas. The other colonial powers are swayed by developments, and try to postpone if possible the moment of recognition of independence, or to find another form of union with the colonies.

These variations in the policy of the colonial powers have also influenced the types and methods of struggle of the African peoples. Hence this struggle is not conducted in an identical manner throughout the Continent of Africa. In the colonies, where the practice of local self-government has made possible a certain political organizing and grouping of the population, the struggle is waged by political means, mainly through political movements and parties. In the disfranchised

colonies, of course, there is no alternative but for the people to answer the terror of the colonizers with revolt and uprising. The First All-Africa Conference, held last year in Accra, took account of this difference in the conditions of struggle in individual colonies, and recommended in a resolution both these forms of struggle, armed and political, depending on which was more suitable in the given conditions. On the other hand, the fact that the anti-colonial struggle is being waged in various ways in different colonies has affected to a certain extent the unity of the aims of that struggle. While the armed fighting in principle seeks the direct achievement of independence, in the case of the various political movements engaged in an anti-colonial struggle and orientated toward political action, tendencies are also manifest for a stage-by-stage settlement of the problem and for compromise solutions, as a result of the differences of their political programmes in relation to the tactics of the anti-colonial struggle, or in consequence of the concrete conditions in a given country. Of course these variations have an effect also on the unity of the anti-colonial movement. Hence, within the broad framework of the anti-colonial movement in Africa, one notices a crossing, and occasionally a divergence, of the revolutionary currents with a more pronounced social content, and evolving political movements which are inclined toward less radical methods of political struggle.

Belgium, Great Britain and France are particularly active today in the solving of their colonial problem. Each is approaching the problem in her own way.

### THE BELGIAN COLONIAL METHOD

Belgium, one of the smallest European countries, holds one of the largest African colonies, in the Congo. The colony is very rich in mineral resources and its im-

\* This is the fourth instalment of this study, the first three having appeared in issues No. 230, 231 and 232 of the "Review".



portance today has increased, particularly through the discovery of rich radium and uranium deposits. Included in the Congo administration is the former German colony of Ruanda-Urundi, held by Belgium as a mandated territory.

The Congo is a colony under the exclusive administration of the colonizers, the native population having no political rights. Nevertheless the Belgians claim that the Congo provides an example of a colony where the population is satisfied with the paternal care of the colonizers. This claim, however, has been discredited by the recent disorders and revolts which broke out in the Congo and spread thence to Ruanda-Urundi. Under the pressure of the population's resistance to the colonial administration, the Belgian Government drew up plans for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, providing for the gradual attainment of independence. According to the plan for the Congo, during this and next year elections should be held for communal and regional self-government, and later for a representative body from which executive authority would be formed, which would function temporarily under the general supervision of the Belgian Government. After four years, the Congo would be granted full independence. The political organizations of the Congo have rejected this stage-by-stage plan, demanding direct transition to independence. Three large Congolese parties — the Abako, the National Movement of Congo, and the Party of African Solidarity — have agreed upon a common federation project whereby the territory of the Congo would be divided into six autonomous provinces with separate legislative and executive authority, and integrated into a federal community with a unified authority for joint affairs.

For Ruanda-Urundi, which is made up of two native kingdoms, the plan of the Belgian Government provides for the enactment of a Constitution in accordance with which the primitive internal organization would first be modernized and the formation of local authorities enabled by way of elections. The question of this colony is complicated by intertribal relationships and conflicts. The Belgian administration has left intact the tribal organization which had been imposed in these two regions by the minority Watutsi tribe of warriors and settlers (15 per cent), composed of large landowners and holding in servile dependence the aboriginal Bahutu majority (84 per cent). The mandatary power relied on that landowner minority. Faced with the prospect of the early acquisition of independence, the Bahutus revolted against their direct masters in an effort to free themselves from their status of subjection, before the landowners' class consolidated itself in the new organization of the country. Hence the movement in Ruanda-Urundi has the character not only of a revolt against the colonizers, but primarily of the struggle of an oppressed majority against an oppressing minority. It is to be noted that during the four decades of the mandate administration in this colony practically nothing has been done to prepare it for independent life, which is the fundamental task of the mandatary power. The question of establishing the term for the transition of this colony to independence is being studied by the trusteeship Council of UNO.

At all events, the vast area of Central Africa co-

vered by the Belgian possessions finds itself facing the imminent acquisition of independence. Proclamation of the independence of the Congo, which is bounded in the south and east by Angola and Uganda, where there is a growing ferment against the colonizers, will speed-up the process of independence in those colonies. Likewise the decision of the United Nations regarding the declaration of independence of Ruanda-Urundi (and of neighbouring Tanganyika, which is under British mandate) will render impossible any continuance of the colonial order in East Africa.

## BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

Great Britain is pursuing a complicated policy in Africa which, on the one hand, can lead to the recognition of independence, notably in the colonies where the self-governing system has been implemented on a larger scale, as has been the case with Ghana and Nigeria, but which, on the other hand, can also lead to the application of ruthless measures, to a state of emergency and courts-martial, if the people in her colonies are too impatient to wait for the consent of the colonizers, as happened in certain British colonies in East Africa. Between these two extreme solutions, a flexible system of protectorates or local self-governments is also applied in the British colonies wherein the relationship of the organs and the jurisdiction has been carefully gauged, so as not to jeopardize the unhindered functioning of colonial supervision. British colonial self-government is, for that matter, a specific concept from the stock-in-trade of British imperial policy, which differs from the generally accepted conception of self-government. It relates to the scope of operation rather than to the method of appointment of the organs, it is more of a technical-administrative than a political conception, and it is rarely of a representative character in relation to the native population. But even this kind of self-government has not been introduced in all the British colonies in Africa. This question, however, is no longer of great significance for the success of the anti-colonial movement, which is developing independently of the administrative framework of the colonial administration.

Great Britain has, in the main, liquidated her colonial empire in West and Central Africa by granting independence to Ghana and Nigeria and relinquishing her mandate over Cameroons and Togoland. There remain, though it will doubtless not be for long, the British colonies of Sierra Leone and Gambia. Sierra Leone is a colony which originated from a possession an Englishman bought from a native king, and which was intended for the accommodation of African Negroes sent back from England, where they had been taken earlier, probably as slaves. Sierra Leone was to have played a role similar to that of Liberia. However, while the Americans soon made an independent state of Liberia, the British made Sierra Leone into a colony, which they expanded by a subsequently occupied hinterland out of which they created a protectorate. Sierra Leone today lies between two independent Negro states — Guinea and Liberia. Such juxtaposition in itself means strong support for the anti-colonial movement in that colony, and in this movement there is a strong tendency for union with Guinea. Britain's little colony of Gambia in



West Africa, adjoining Senegal, whose own colonial status is also becoming senseless and untenable, will probably decide in favour of a merger with Senegal. In the recent General Elections in Gambia, the Union Party, which proposes union with Senegal, polled a majority. Following on Ghana and Guinea, this would be the second instance of a former French and a former British colony forming a union.

The most significant event in that part of British colonial territory will undoubtedly be Nigeria's independence. An independent Nigeria will probably introduce fresh elements into the development of Africa anti-colonialism. With its 40 million inhabitants, Nigeria will be the largest African state. This alone will give its problems a special aspect. In view of the ethnical, religious and administrative-organizational differences, the problem of integration in Nigeria will confront her statesmen with an even more difficult task than is the case in other African states. On the other hand, the present political leadership of Nigeria shows a certain reserve toward the idea of all-African unity, which is espoused today by Ghana and Guinea. It is therefore reasonable to assume that in the further development of the anti-colonial movement in Africa there will be a strengthening of the various trends which have been discernible in it since last year's conference in Accra.

The most acute form of struggle against British colonialism in Africa is manifesting itself today in East Africa. In that area only Tanganyika is sure of gaining early independence, since it is a mandated territory whose problem is the concern of the United Nations. All the other colonies have to win independence themselves or force the colonizer to grant it. Hence their population is resorting to strikes, demonstrations and revolts — as is happening in Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia. The movements in these colonies are linking up with similar movements in the neighbouring Belgian, Portuguese and South-African colonies. There exists a broad political programme in this struggle, which provides, as the aim of the common liberating struggle, for the establishment of a federation (under the historical name of Malawi) which would include Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Mozambique and Congo. Like Nigeria, this would be a large federal state with nearly 35 million inhabitants.

In recent years the British colonial administration has undertaken certain administrative reforms, as palliative measures towards the independence movement. They consist of the reorganization of local government and the composition of local organs, and in the creation of colonial federations which would to integrate more firmly the separate colonies in the administrative complex of the whole system. Thus Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were integrated in the Federation of Central Africa, and Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda were placed under the supreme administration of a joint High Commission.

## FRENCH COLONIAL REFORM

Special interest attaches to the reform France carried out last year by creating the French Community. This Community, whose pivot and protagonist is France, has been joined by all the French African colonies

except Guinea, which chose independence, and Algeria, which was excluded by France from the reform. With the creation of the Community the colonial status of the French African possessions was abolished, and replaced by the status of autonomous territories with a limited internal independence, similar to the states or provinces in a federal state. It is not a real federation, however, because it lacks some of the fundamental elements of such a State organization, while France herself has an exceptional status and rights in it such as ordinarily are held by no state in a federation. The French Community is a special system of autonomous territories linked to France as the metropolis and mother of the Community. Actually, it is far more a matter of a community with France than of a French Community.

But however one may define the Community, the French reform signifies liquidation of the colonial order in that part of Africa. Certain relationships of dependence, notably in the economic field, will probably go on for some time — in some places longer and in others shorter — under the condition of integration with the metropolis; but one may expect this dependence gradually to weaken and that, parallel with the perfecting of the political organization, increasing elements of mutual benefit and equality will be introduced into these relationships. Such, too, is approximately the philosophy of the African leaders in the Community, who are opposed to the trend for greater political emancipation from the metropolis, for fear it may introduce too great upheavals in the economy of those regions. But they consider, too, that this form of the Community is but one stage along the road to full independence.

Viewed from the French side, the Community represents an attempt to contain the process of definitive disintegration of the French colonial empire. This attempt has been carried out on principles of political democracy and self-determination. The colonies have declared themselves to be for the Community by ballot, and the Constitution provides that they may also leave it in the same manner, by opting for independence.

According to certain phenomena which have already been manifested this year, since the Community was set up, one can conclude that its creators have underrated certain relevant factors while overrating others. The intensity of the desire for independence of the African peoples embraced by the Community has apparently been underrated, while the factor of economic dependence upon the metropolis has been overrated. It seems that it was considered on the French side that the organizational, economic and personnel deficiencies for the setting up of an independent life in these territories constituted a sufficient guarantee for their devotion to such a type of Community which, if it does not promise full independence, on the one hand, does provide certain prospects of economic development with the assistance of France, on the other.

One of the phenomena contradicting such assumptions is the demand of the federation of Mali that the jurisdiction of joint affairs, which had been retained for the Community's organs, in accordance with the organizational scheme, be transferred to its own organs. Actually, this is the road to full independence. Even the actual foundation of the federation of Mali, which



was created through the union of Senegal with Sudan, and which was not received with special enthusiasm in France, meant a certain revision of the internal complex of the Community, which is based on special autonomous territories linked directly to France but without mutual State legal bonds. In the French view, its is not in the spirit of the Community to have an internal grouping of countries which would mean their strengthening in relation to the centre and encourage further desires for independence. Recognition of independence of the federation of Mali, upon which the political leadership of the two unified countries insists, entails revision of the entire status of the Community which might be the beginning of a process of complete alteration of its character. Senegal and Sudan, according to the declarations of their leaders, do not want to sever every relationship of co-operation with France, but they assert that such relationships can only be preserved if France does not obstruct the realization of their desire for independence. The idea suggested by them for changing the system of the Community is revision of its Constitution, on the model of the British Commonwealth.

This idea of the creation of a French version of the Commonwealth is also supported by the political movements in the French Cameroun and Togoland, which envisage their future relations with the former mandatory power in a similar way. Inside the Community itself, the example of the Mali federation has so far found no emulators, although there have been efforts to enlarge the federation. But other movements for unity, primarily economic, have manifested themselves, however. Thus two customs unions have been formed, which may be regarded as the forerunners of political unions, and one of which covers Tchad, French Congo, Gabon and the Central African Republic, and the other the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Nigeria and Dahomey.

The French Community is facing the problem of deeper transformations. As is already shown by these phenomena, even in the French colonial territory the process of colonial liberation could not be arrested at the level fixed by the original Constitutional organization of the Community, and which was transcended even at the moment of formation by the mounting aspirations for independence of the African peoples.

## India's economic Development and Planning

by Sunil GUHA

**I**N STUDYING economic development in India, one is impressed with certain basic realities which necessarily heavily influence the planning for such development. A high rate of growth of population, concentration of a high percentage of national population in low productivity activities, notably agriculture, a high incidence of unemployment and under-employment, low domestic savings and slow growth of capital equipment and marked inequality of incomes are some of these realities which planning in this country must take cognisance of. It is not that India suffers from an absolute lack of resources — they have been there running to waste in concealed unemployment, individual extravagance and faulty techniques. The economic motive which ought to set entrepreneurs to combining resources, improving techniques and turning themselves into catalysts of economic potential has also been generally of a kind which is detrimental to the co-operative and persuasive elements of enterprise. The essence of the "break-through" or the "take-off" in an underdeveloped country is the requisite change in the psychology of the potential developer. Indian economic development is therefore not only a problem of resources development but also one of providing correct and sufficient motivation.

Immediately after Independence, India faced the problems of absorbing the shock of partition, of integrating a large number of princely States into one political and economic fabric and of restoring a measure of stability to the economy after years of inflation. Once these immediate problems were overcome, India directed her attention to long-range issues. It was felt that for meeting our distinctive problems we had to lay more emphasis on nationwide planning, rely more on public development of basic facilities, make up for the absence or uncertainties of the disciplines of competition by subjecting the private sector to strategic controls and gradually enlarging the social welfare services. It was not possible to do all

this in the course of one five-year plan. The First Five-Year Plan, therefore, initiated a process of development with a view to raising the living standard of the Indian masses and opening up to them new opportunities for a richer and more varied life by utilising more effectively the potential resources available in the country. The accent of the First Five-Year Plan was predominantly on agricultural development, though industry too was not neglected. Everything went well with the plan and not only did India achieve self-sufficiency in food but industrial production also recorded notable progress. The national income in real terms — measured in terms of prices prevailing in 1948-49 — exceeded the target and increased by 18% (i. e. at an average annual rate of 3.6%). But since the population was increasing at the same time at an annual rate of about 1.25 per cent, income per head of the population increased by 11 per cent (i. e. at an average annual rate of 2.2%).

When embarking on the Second Five-Year Plan, it was rightly felt that without a clear sense of direction and a consistent regard for certain basic hopes and aspirations it was not possible to establish guide-posts for the myriads of decisions that had to be taken from day to day. It was with a view to giving this clear sense of direction and defining the basic approach to long-range economic policy that the objective of a "socialist pattern of society" was adopted. This objective should not be regarded as an echo of some set doctrines of social evolution or an attempt to copy any set pattern evolved elsewhere. Our approach is essentially pragmatic — an approach which proceeds from our own needs and traditions, leaving room for experimentation and adaptation in the light of changing circumstances. The basic principle of socialism is that all means of production should be owned by the State and most economic activities should be centralised in the State. Therefore, a question is raised —



does the Socialist Pattern mean, or would it ultimately mean abolition of all private property by gradual extension of the activities of the State? Here I should like to emphasise that while the acceptance of Socialist Pattern of Society in India does imply the judgement that it is desirable, in the present circumstances, for the State to extend its activities in the economic sphere, it does not imply an embargo on the development of private initiative or enterprise. Still less does it imply a determination to create eventually a monolithic State with complete control over all economic activities. One can at best find in this phrase „Socialist Pattern“ deliberate omission of socialism as such and conscious commission of certain aspects of capitalist economy. The accent of the Socialist Pattern is on rapid progress. The fundamental need of the Indian economy clearly is that of a rapid increase in production and productivity and it is precisely in order to facilitate the process of rapid progress that an increase in the activities of the State is envisaged. But where the economic horizon is expanding continuously, there need not be any fear that the extension of the public sector would be at the expense of the private sector.

The implications of the „Socialist Pattern of Society“ were discussed exhaustively at the Ooty Seminar of the Congress Planning Sub-Committee. We made it clear that for many years to come there would be scope for private and co-operative initiative and enterprise in the largest sector of our economy, namely, agriculture, in the handcraft and small-scale industries sector, and even in the medium and large-scale industrial sector. But we also emphasised that „a great duty rests upon the society, as well as on those who are concerned as owners or managers of large-scale enterprises, to see that such enterprises are not utilised for exploitative purposes and that they do not lead to misdirection of resources or concentration of wealth and power“. Therefore, what we are aiming at is not a monolithic State but an economy in which there would be a public sector, a private sector and a co-operative sector. We are, furthermore, laying stress on the moral and ethical content of socialism which must be reflected in the lives of the individuals of India and in the whole network of relationships and institutions which constitute the social fabric. The incentives of money and other individual rewards will have a place in the new social set-up. But the motivation for social and economic activity should no longer be egoistic. We feel that democratic socialism represents a profound emotional stimulus and the right kind of ideology that can enthuse the Indian masses and set them to exert themselves in the organising of a new way of life that will include not only India's traditional values and newly-acquired democratic freedom, but also the standard of national comfort which their brethren have in other free societies. I may also add that in the matter of economic equality, our basic approach is to strengthen incomes and opportunities at the lower level rather than to level down the toll poppies. We are fully aware that there cannot be any socialism of poverty and we, therefore, put production before redistribution. Having said this much on the implications of India's Socialist Pattern, I shall now turn to the actual performance of the Second Five-Year Plan and the tasks that lie ahead for us.

The emphasis was shifted from agricultural development to industrialization in the Second Five-Year Plan and its outlay in the public and private sector was considerably bigger than in the First. The success of the Second Plan depended on many factors, some of which were obviously beyond the planners' control: a progressive rise in agricultural production, particularly of foodgrains; a more or less stable level of prices; fuller mobilisation of domestic savings; steady increase in export earnings; careful husbanding of foreign exchange resources; and finally, popular participation in the implementation of projects on a massive scale. As a result of a debacle in the food front due to successive bad weather conditions, the foreign exchange crisis due to unsatisfactory

performance of the export trade, higher level of imports and higher prices of imported goods, inflationary pressure on prices and lack of popular participation on the desired scale, the Second Plan got into rough weather in running through its third year.

Under democratic planning, this hiatus between effort and effect can make it particularly difficult to retain the enthusiasm of the people for the Plan, but the Indian masses have shown remarkable poise and patience in facing difficulties. They were aware that such difficulties are inherent in a process of economic development and that the basic realities of the Indian situation can hardly allow us a breathing space. The Government took every conceivable step to steer clear of the difficulties and pitfalls. We have necessarily continued to maintain a tight control over our imports and the decline in our foreign balance has been checked. The success of our policy is, however, in no small measure due to the very generous assistance we received from friendly countries and institutions.

Thinking on the Third Plan has already begun, and at the Ooty Seminar we devoted several days to thrashing out the broad contours of the Third Five-Year Plan. We recognised that we had to be bold without being reckless. We realised that while politically, psychologically and even mechanistically, the Third Plan cannot be materially different from the Second, certain sectors of the economy needed more emphasis and certain sections of the people more attention.

Intensification of agricultural production and expansion of the basic and capital goods industry have obviously to be the guiding lights of the Third Plan. If the economy is to emerge from backwardness and poverty, we cannot cry halt to the costly beginning that has been made in the sphere of industrialization. We felt that in order to take the country a significant step forward towards its goal of a Socialist Pattern of Society, the national income must rise by 6 percent annually during the Third Five-Year Plan and that the pattern of investment would have to be such as would make possible a sustained growth of national income at about 8 per cent per year, in the subsequent Plan period. It was also felt that to attain a rate of growth of 6% per year, the rate of savings would have to be raised to about 14% per year by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan and that this step-up in the rate of savings was feasible, given a correct approach. The pattern of investment consistent with the above rate of growth would call for a high priority for capital goods industries. In other words, the proper strategy would be to carry on to a fruitful stage what has already been begun on a grand scale in the industrial sector. In this sector, we have already been committed to such projects as heavy-building, mining machinery, foundry-forge, manufacture of electrical machinery, etc. The intensification of the industrial effort itself requires a continuous rise in agricultural production. There is no innate deficiency in Indian agriculture and per acre yield can be increased several fold, given proper planning and conscious effort. We felt that the key to the improvement of agricultural production in India was a steady increase in the yields per acre achieved through intensification and diversification of agriculture, and that it was essential to bring this out prominently in the objectives of the Plan.

We also felt that the question of unemployment should be dealt with as one of urgency during the Third Plan. We, however, made it clear that employment was something integral to production and that the employment approach under the Third Plan should be an economic approach rather than sentimental social justice approach. We suggested that a rural orientation might be given to the Third Plan, making it clear that such an orientation should not be in a manner that might hinder the growth of our economy. In other words, use of power and improved techniques should be encouraged wherever feasible to raise the productivity of such industries.

We also discussed the questions of resources and insti-



tutional changes. We felt that we had increasingly to depend on domestic resources and for this it was essential to mobilise the domestic savings potential to the fullest. We also felt that institutional changes were an essential pre-requisite for economic development in desired directions. When we evaluate the performance of the economy and analyse our experience during the period of the two Plans, it becomes obvious that what has retarded our progress was not so much the possible flaws in the formulation of programmes, or even the insufficiency of resources, as the lack of effective instruments for implementation and the inadequacy of the channels through which the impulses for planned development had to flow. The problems of planning in the next phase of our de-

velopment are therefore not related in the main to the formulation of fresh objectives and priorities; it is primarily to the problems of implementation that attention and energies have to be directed. Even in the last two years of the Second Plan we have to pay greater attention to institutional changes and organizational improvements. By the time the Third Plan gets underway, we shall have laid a solid foundation for the growth of co-operatives and village institutions to take charge of mobilisation of resources and implementation of projects in rural areas; and we shall have taken necessary steps to gear the administrative machinery fully to the vast and complex tasks lying ahead. For, the cost of default in either of the tasks will be enormous.

## Current Topics

# The IIIrd Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and the Middle East

*The Third Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and Middle East at which the representatives of Algeria, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Lebanon, Malta, Oman, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia took part was held in Belgrade from December 2 to 5. Reports were submitted on this occasion on the work of the Permanent Committee, on the colonial problems of today, on the situation in Algeria, Oman, Aden, Malta, Cyprus etc., on the present international situation and active coexistence, on the problems of Dark Africa and the cooperation of anti-colonialist organizations.*

*We are publishing the greetings address by Veljko Vlahović member of the presidency of the Socialist Alliance, excerpts from the speeches of Dragomir Vučinić and report by Janko Smole, the report of Fenner Brockway and Lucio Luzzatto, as fragments from the speeches of the Algerian delegate Mohammed Yala and the representative of the United Arab Republic Abdel Hafiz. The text of the Resolution brought at this Conference is also published.*

## SIGNIFICANT RESULTS

by Miroslav VITOROVIĆ

Secretary General of the Yugoslav League for Peace,  
Independence and Equality of Peoples

THE THIRD Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, which was held in Belgrade from December 2 to 5 marked a new and really successful stage in the development and activity of this regional international movement, which is rallying the anti-colonial forces in its area.

Founded two years ago at the First Anti-Colonial Conference in Athens, the Permanent Committee for the Struggle Against Colonialism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East has not a long tradition behind it. But its significance is determined by the fact that it is an independent movement, and that its ranks include the most important and the most progressive social and political forces of the countries belonging to that geographic region, and possessing special, common, political and economic interests.

These forces are naturally bound together by a common struggle, inspired by identical aims:

First, to wipe out the last strongholds of classical co-

lonial enslavement, the last remnants of an outlived, repressive system of international relations;

Second, to create, on the basis of broad and comprehensive co-operation between the peoples of that area, conditions such as will exclude sundry forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of those countries, especially that type of outside pressure in which the elements of neo-colonial relationships are inherent; and

Third, to contribute by means of the struggle, to the establishment of equal, democratic relations between peoples and, at the same time, to the stabilization of peace and human progress in general.

The Belgrade Conference was held under different international conditions from those prevailing at the time of the First Conference in Athens and the Second Conference in Rome. If in the last year and the one before the list of international happenings included such acute and burning questions as the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against



Egypt, the Anglo-American military intervention in Jordan and Lebanon, the Cyprus problem, and other questions of the time, this year's Conference in Belgrade was held in an entirely different international atmosphere. This necessarily determined the content, course, and even the character of the Third Anti-Colonial Conference.

The Belgrade Conference therefore started from the fact that new, favourable changes have appeared recently in international relations, and particularly in the relations between the great powers, which have marked the beginning of the process of relaxing tension in international life, of liquidation of the "cold war" and the creation of conditions for the gradual settlement of those problems which have been poisoning the international atmosphere for years, bringing the world to the brink of a hot war which would be catastrophic for the survival of mankind.

The Belgrade Conference correctly assessed that these changes in international life were also opening new and favourable prospects for the settlement of colonial problems. The Conference was unanimous in its opinion that, in view of the brightening international horizons, new efforts should be made and new actions launched to continue and intensify this process to such an extent as to make for a stable, durable peace and international relations founded on the freedom and independence of all peoples and countries, on their democratic, equal, truly friendly co-operation. Such a state of international relations would definitely mean the doing away with the bloc-division of the world, the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism in all its forms and, generally speaking, the full confirmation of the principle of active co-existence of countries, regardless of their political system and social structure.

This constructive starting point gave the Belgrade Conference a real working character, in which there was no room for propagandist competition. The Conference was distinguished, above all, by an unusually serious, realistic approach to the problems on its agenda, this fact being also in great part due to the papers which were submitted to the Conference for consideration.

Hence it is comprehensible why that much of the time of the Conference was devoted to examination of the economic development of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

As the number of peoples who are freeing themselves from the yoke of colonial subjection grows — and latterly that process has been proceeding more rapidly and on an ever-wider front — the struggle against colonialism is shifting also to the scene of economic relations, where one of the fundamental disparities of our epoch — that between the developed and undeveloped countries — is manifest in its most acute form. It is no accident that the countries which have recently gained political independence belong to the economically least developed areas of the world. The many decades of colonial exploitation have left deep traces in the economic life of those countries, and their peoples today have to tackle exceedingly complicated and difficult problems, not only in order to free themselves from the fetters of backwardness, and organize for themselves a life worthy of man, but also to safeguard the material basis of their political independence.

The Conference therefore emphasized the great importance and urgent need for economic and technical assistance to those countries, for their quicker economic development and final emancipation from the misery and backwardness into which they had been thrown by colonial enslavement. This assistance — if it is to achieve its real purpose — cannot be conditioned by political or military stipulations. Hence the Conference accented as the most suitable those forms which rely on international financing of undeveloped areas. In this a special role is played by economic co-operation based on democratic principles, between the countries themselves of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Of course, the Belgrade Conference did not omit to analyse, the acute problems of the anti-colonial struggle in individual parts of that area, such as Algeria, Oman and other places. Thus, for example, the Conference manifestly expressed its full support for the heroic struggle of the Algerian people, urging a peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem, which would put an end to the bloody five-year war and enable that nation to realize its legitimate aspirations for independence and free internal development.

The presence of delegates from Northern Rhodesia and the Ivory Coast, albeit in the capacity of observers at the Conference, demonstrated in its turn the integrated nature of the anti-colonial struggle throughout the world, and the need for more frequent contacts, exchanges of opinion and co-operation between individual anti-colonial movements and their organizations. As was pointed out in the discussion, such co-operation, on a basis of equality, accompanied by respect for the specific conditions of struggle in every country and every part of the world, accompanied by retention of the complete, independent individuality of each movement, would constitute a significant contribution to the realization of the common aim: the independence of all peoples, and peace in the world. Thus, in its Resolution, the Conference took the important step of calling for a meeting of representatives of the anti-colonial movements and organizations from all over the world.

The Third Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and the Middle East was productive of truly fruitful results. It is superfluous to add that those present, in jointly seeking the best answers to the problems on the agenda, were unanimous in their decisions. Did they not at the same time provide with this an example and illustration of a constructive international co-operation imbued with the spirit of sincerity, mutual understanding and devotion to common ideals?

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## Greetings Address by Veljko Vlahović

ALLOW ME on behalf of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, an organisation numbering nearly six million members, to extend the most cordial greetings to the delegates and guests of the 3rd Anticolonial Conference of the Mediterranean and Middle East and to wish you the most fruitful and successful work in strengthening friendship among the peoples and movements which you represent, in strengthening peace and international co-operation throughout the world.

I should like to emphasize at the outset how happy we are that this Conference is being held in the capital of the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia which is linked with the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Middle East with ties of common interests and common aspirations for faster social and economic development.

All of you are acquainted with the consistent, principled attitude of Yugoslavia with regard to the problems of the struggle against colonialism, the struggle for strengthening co-operation and friendship among peoples, the struggle for strengthening and consolidating the peace.

Our attitude to the problems of colonialism springs primarily from the fact that being a socialist country Yugoslavia is conducting a socialist policy which abhors exploitation of other peoples, and to which a policy of inequality among peoples and states as well as a policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries are completely alien to.

Our stand on the problems of colonialism and the anticolonial struggle further springs from the fact that the Yugoslav peoples suffered long and hard under alien domination, that they waged a bloody and difficult struggle for their liberation and the fact that the freedom we are enjoying today was achieved at an incalculable price. For this reason it seems to me that better than other European countries we can understand the aspirations and efforts of the peoples fighting for their freedom, independence, and their economic and social advancement.

Our views on the problems of the anticolonial struggle result from the fact that we are a country and people who have resolved our basic social problems, won our freedom to decide on our fate, in one of the hardest revolutions and armed struggles.

Our attitude to the economic and social problems of the Mediterranean and Middle East issues from the fact that practically speaking we were backward economically and culturally only until yesterday, that our economy was in a state of semi-colonial dependence on the economies of developed countries. We are fully aware of how difficult and strenuous is the struggle to liquidate backwardness and of the many hardships which crop up in this struggle.

Our attitude to the problems of the anti-colonial struggle arises from the fact that we are deeply interested to see further social progress in the world, from

the fact that our own development and economic strengthening depend on faster growth and comprehensive strengthening of the backward countries in the area of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Our attitude to the problems of the anti-colonial struggle also originates in the fact that we are a country which is profoundly interested in seeing the liquidation of the cold war, the affirmation of the principles of active coexistence, the advancement of relations among all peoples and states.

Our policy and our views are expressed in all our activities beginning with our country's stand in the United Nations Organisation and extending to conferences such as the one which is inaugurating its work today. That is why we warmly greeted India's freedom, emancipation from the colonial yoke and the liberation of China. We greeted the Egyptian revolution in 1952, firmly denounced the aggression in the Suez and in Sinaia, greeted the Iraqi revolution in 1958 and welcomed the independence of Vietnam, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea and other countries and have established the closest co-operation with nearly all of them. Starting out from such positions, we have built up our attitude towards the liberation struggle of the Algerian people, the struggle of a people who have no other desire but to take up an honourable place in the community of free peoples.

Also starting from these positions we greet the large scale awakening of the peoples of Black Africa and we rejoice in the freedom which will come to the peoples of Nigeria, Togoland, the Cameroons and Somalia in the course of next year.

Events since World War II up to the present should already have convinced those who live the old fashioned way that colonialism is an anachronism of our day. Those who refuse to recognize this will experience great disappointments.

I think that we are all happy at the fact that our Conference is being held at a time when international tension and the cold war are beginning to show signs of relaxation, when the peoples of the world are being faced with brighter perspectives. New qualitative changes are appearing in the international situation. The repercussions of these changes should be far-reaching both in the direction of the elimination of bloc divisions and in the direction of speedier liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and the strengthening of equality and co-operation among peoples and states.

We all know that such a policy will not triumph of itself. It must be fought for.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to all people in the world that it is impossible to retain in future the present scope of the cold war without endangering world peace. Therefore the inevitability of adopting methods of permanent negotiations and of holding conferences at various levels for the solution of burning questions



facing mankind. In these circumstances economic problems are coming more and more to the forefront and they include the problems of the economic development of the Mediterranean and Middle East countries. For this reason I think it is most useful that this problem has also been placed on the agenda of the present meeting.

The Mediterranean and Middle East countries can and must play an important role in this new process which is only just beginning to evolve. This is an area

## Janko Smole

Yugoslav Delegate

# Economic Problems and Economic Co-Operation in Mediterranean and Middle East

IF WE GLANCE at certain fundamental data about the development of some countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East during recent years, especially in the 1958-1959 period, we see that agricultural production is in a very slow growth and that in the African region it even lags behind the natural accretion of the population. In the course of 1958-1959 agricultural production per capita in Africa was 99% of the production of the five-year average 1952-1956, and in the Middle East it was 104%. Food production in Africa was 97% this year, and in the Middle East, 102% compared with the mentioned five-year average. According to FAO findings set out in their report for this year, four regions - Latin America, Far East, Middle East and Africa - which cover two thirds of mankind - produced in the 1954-1958 period only about one third of the world agricultural production, while in one third of the world which is economically developed, there was two thirds of the world agricultural production. Though agricultural production in the countries of our region is tangibly higher than the prewar, it nevertheless lags far behind the needs and possibilities. In Morocco, Tunisia, Greece, Italy and Egypt it was about 40-50% greater in the 1956-1957 period as compared to the prewar level of production. However, due to the predominantly backward agrotechnology and other impediments in some countries it was strongly subject to fluctuations, and this also means that the requirements of individual countries and possibilities of exports are also affected by this. The case with Algeria is special. In that country production rose by only 20% over the prewar, which is naturally the consequence of the colonial war which is being waged against the Algerian people.

Industrial production in the African Mediterranean countries grows at a much slower rate than in the European Mediterranean countries. Mining is preponderately stagnating. If production in various basic goods sectors is viewed, one notices that energy raw materials, coal and petroleum, undergo sharp fluctuations after the war dependent upon the trend of the world market and reprisals undertaken against certain countries which were waging a struggle for independence.

Petroleum production in the Middle East which met the requirements even up to 90% of European needs is again on the increase. Here the endeavours of certain countries-producers to make overall use of their natural resources by developing the relevant industry is increasingly manifested.

which at one time in the history of mankind played an enviable role, which gave the world so many creative geniuses in all fields of human activity. Our countries conceal tremendous possibilities which were frustrated until recently but which are beginning to free themselves. It is our duty to make a new contribution of a speedier economic and social development so that the young generations of our countries might stand in the front ranks of the fighters for the happiness and prosperity of the whole of mankind in the nearest possible future.

Now, the new discoveries of deposits in the African area also open new perspectives for development in those countries.

The resources of ores are also considerable. Egypt and Morocco, then Algeria, Tunisia also have considerable iron and manganese ores which are chiefly exported. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia are also major producers of lead and zinc: Algeria and Morocco of antimony; Morocco and Tunisia of silver; Algeria of pyrite and sulphur; Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia of potash and phosphates. The raw materials for paper production as well as the conditions for its cultivation also exist in the African Mediterranean countries. However, they are now chiefly exported.

If we view those industries such as the food industry (sugar and edible oil), then the textile and footwear industry, paper industry, chemical industry, we see that they are markedly underdeveloped and that the requirements are chiefly met by imports. The cement industry is also comparatively weakly developed nearly in all the countries (only the UAR has a developed cement industry). Fertilizers and raw materials (phosphates) are chiefly exported and used very little for promotion of domestic agriculture. The production of electrical energy chiefly meets the requirements of the weakly developed industry and low living standard and generally the low consumption. In the maritime traffic which is chiefly covered by the foreign trade traffic, the tendency is noticed that far more cargo is loaded and far less unloaded. This is particularly characteristic of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, as well as the Middle East countries. The influx of foreign capital, gifts and loans in the 1954-1957 period points to the fact that a broader national economic development is still not made possible in that area, that is, the necessary assistance is not extended to that development.

The gross product as well as the trend of the national income in these countries has slightly risen compared with 1953. And in some of them, as in Morocco for instance, it was even below the 1953 level in 1957. The Mediterranean countries, such as Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy had, however, a constant increase of the gross product and national income, and in that period the growth attained by Yugoslavia was particularly noticed.

The Mediterranean and Middle East countries which have acquired their independence cannot reconcile themselves with that state of affairs. That is why they have begun carrying out various measures essential to speeding up their



economic development. In this they seek new forms and paths in conformity with their specific conditions and altered relations in the world, for it is evident that they cannot emerge from the state of economic underdevelopment by classical paths. The plan for the development of the Egyptian and Syrian Provinces of the United Arab Republic is known. In Egypt the plan provides for the 20-year development to be in four phases, whose aim is doubling the national income. The first phase also includes the construction of the great Aswan Dam whose construction will cost over 320 million dollars and which will enable the irrigation of new large surfaces and increase of agricultural production. A ten-year programme of development for the UAR Syrian Province has been drawn up. Also prepared are the plans of development in some other Middle East countries. The implementation of adequate programmes of development in the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco are also being undertaken.

Some countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East are endeavouring to undertake corresponding actions on a broader regional basis. Thus, for instance, the economic council of the Arab League decided in January this year to set up an Arab financial institution for development, while the economic council is to draft a proposal for a possible united Arab market.

The southern European countries had moved a corresponding action for associated development which, in the present world of development of events, will obtain a fresh impulse.

There are, however, exceptionally broad foundations, presently not yet utilized, for an expansion of our regional cooperation between the Mediterranean and Middle East countries, and this, in various areas. The FAO „Mediterranean Development Project“ also points to the possibility of this cooperation. This project contains an assessment of the possibilities for accelerating the economic development of this area. The European Mediterranean countries can, in view of the degree of their development, extend in great measure wider aid to the African Mediterranean countries, and we ought to reach accord that this be on consistently democratic principles.

Yugoslavia, which is consistently striving for respect of equality and genuine democratic international cooperation, both in the political and in the economic fields, has fully developed various forms of cooperation with many countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East, while this cooperation is now developing with other countries. Our economic cooperation

with the Sudan and the United Arab Republic surpasses by far the borders of trade exchange. The credits approved to the UAR and the Sudan by Yugoslavia enable expansion of that cooperation in the field of economic cooperation as well. Besides, the scientific-technical cooperation is also successfully developing, especially with regards to training cadres. Cooperation with Morocco and Tunisia also has chances of being furthered and expanded not only in the commercial but in other fields as well.

Yugoslavia has also endeavoured to expand her cooperation with the European Mediterranean countries and, as is known, broad contacts and various forms of cooperation are especially developed with Greece, and after the solution of the Trieste issue economic cooperation with neighbouring Italy has made considerable headway.

The aforementioned is only a slight glance at the economic problems and economic cooperation of the countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East. This does not elaborate all the basic aspects of the economic problems of our area and all the forms of economic cooperation and joint solution of burning questions have not been exhausted. The discussion will illuminate in a more overall and concrete way this important field of our common interest. For, it is indubitable that it would be of primary importance in the interest of the most successful further struggle against colonialism and for developing of democratic international relations that the forms of mutual economic cooperation of the Mediterranean and Middle East countries be studied more genuinely, developed further and enriched. It is evident that in our efforts for the construction of a stable peace on democratic foundations the cooperation of the Mediterranean and Middle East might be considerably advanced and expanded. This cooperation would be a major contribution to the solution of the problems of this geographical area, and at the same time a contribution to the solution of the world problems. For, there is no doubt that the problems we are faced with in our geographical region are the component part of the general world problems, which the world community — both the developed and the less developed countries, both the rich and the poor countries, both those in the blocs and those outside the blocs — has no reason to keep silent over. On the contrary, it has every reason to treat them boldly and solve them by resolute efforts in the spirit of the time and needs of the contemporary world, which has changed in many respects.

**Fenner Brockway**

Member of British Parliament

## Economic Imperialism

ECONOMIC imperialism will persist after political imperialism has been destroyed. The economic balance of the world was changed by the first industrial revolution. A second industrial revolution is now taking place by the technical advance of automation, the new sources of atomic energy as applied to industry and new materials which are replacing the hard-one minerals, and with this easier production of wealth in the industrialised countries, the gulf between them and the underdeveloped countries is increasing. The world is even more becoming divided into the richer and poorer countries.

As this process continues, it will become necessary for industrialized powers to find to a greater degree even than

during the first revolution, sources of raw materials such as uranium, markets and spheres for capital investment in distant places. The danger is that a few industrial powers will become the economic masters of the world.

If we are to held back economic imperialism, there are certain demands upon which we should be insisting. The first is the right of the independent territories to the absolute possession of their natural resources and minerals. The second is that any capital investment from foreign countries shall be regarded as loans repayable within the shortest possible time. The third is that the independent nations shall have the right to nationalise foreign enterprises within stated periods. The fourth is that the indigenous peoples shall be trained in skill-



led crafts and be prepared for the functions of management and control.

There is a danger that, following their military rivalry, West and East will begin to compete for the economic domination of other territories. We must insist upon the right of colonial peoples and independent nations to accept loans whether they come from East or West and on the consideration only of the advantage of their terms. We must insist that such loans should be without any political strings.

But it would be much better if the necessary investments for the underdeveloped territories came not from one country, or a group of countries, but from an international fund. At long last the United Nations has established a fund for the assistance of the underdeveloped territories. This should be made a world pool to which all nations should contribute. It should be under the control of a board representing the receiving nations as well as the contributing nations and the composition of the board should be such that it could not be regarded as reflecting the partisan preferences of one side or another.

### **Luzzato Lucio Mario**

Member of the Italian Parliament

## **Let us redouble our Efforts in the Struggle against Colonialism**

AS FOR the concrete aims and tasks of our committee for the struggle against colonialism in the Mediterranean and the Near East, we must stress our interest in and concern for the relaxation of tension. We must also increase our efforts to this end, expressing the most resolute demand in our zone of action, irrespective of the special position of one or the other group of the most powerful countries. We must put forward a demand which we feel deeply, and which involves the countries and movements struggling against colonialism, with a view to freeing the peoples who have recently acquired their independence, or are now struggling for it in the Middle East or Southern Coast of the Mediterranean, of interference and intervention by the imperialists as part of their policy of bloc division, armament and force — from NATO to the Baghdad Pact, from the military bases established in North Africa and elsewhere to direct and military intervention in the Middle East. We must strive for the reduction of international tension in order to put an end to these means of external pressure as soon as possible, as the former constitutes a strong support to colonialism in these regions, which we have always most resolutely opposed.

The lessening of tension means the weakening of pressure and military threats, military blocs and world division. The lessening of tension, opens prospects for disarmament, international meetings and agreements and, hence, the consolidation of peace and relaxation of colonialist pressure.

Colonialism, which is doomed by the historical progress of our century, is absolutely contrary to the prospects opened by the lessening of tension. The aims of disarmament and coexistence are contrary to pretension of maintaining colonialist domination. The progress of peoples recently liberated of colonialism has given a vigorous incentive to new prospects, as shown by the policy of active neutrality, developed within the United Nations and elsewhere by the Asian peoples. In this way also, the awakening of the African peoples will deal the final blow to colonialism, and offer prospects of new

relations of active peaceful coexistence in the world. Colonialism cannot survive the opening of such prospects. But it will not die of itself. It is the task of the peoples who are fighting for their independence, of the anti-colonialist movements, to destroy it.

We must redouble our efforts in the struggle against colonialism in our countries, for it is also a struggle for the relaxing of tension, for peace, for active coexistence which, without the independence and the contribution of countries hitherto under the colonial yoke, cannot serve the interests of all peoples.

### **Salah Abdel Hafiz**

Lawyer at the court of Cassation, Cairo

## **AGAINST MILITARY PACTS**

IT IS HARDLY surprising that in spite of the great progress achieved by the world and in spite of the tremendous current of liberation and independence which is passing throughout the countries of the region and the peoples of the Continent, Colonialism attempts to stand against the tide; for every economic or political development achieved by these nations is usually at the expense of the colonialist camp. Hence it is not surprising that Colonialism seeks to break up the unity and co-operation of these nations nor is it surprising that imperialism should carry out its intrigues to disrupt the internal situation in these countries and entice problems between countries with different systems, nay but even create trouble and disruption between the ranks of the one-nation which could lead to Africans fighting their other brethren in Africa and to Arabs standing against their other Arab Brethren.

The problems of the Mediterranean countries differ from those of Middle East countries. The problem of some of the countries of the Mediterranean is that their governments have joined Military Pacts such as NATO and there is no doubt that such pacts serve the interests of big powers at the expense of small nations which sometimes leads to exploitation by big powers of the weapons of the Pact against struggling nations... This is what France does in Algeria... and this is also what took place during the tripartite aggression against Egypt... These small countries contribute in an indirect way in the suppression of similar small countries by the big powers...

What is even more dangerous is that some of the Governments of Mediterranean countries agree to the establishment of Atomic bases in their territories... such involvement which seems now to have its compensations would be exceedingly dangerous in case a war breaks out; for then these countries would become a battle ground in war in which they have no interest. In such an event the economic aid would disappear in the face of total destruction to which these countries and peoples would be exposed.

I therefore declare from this distinguished platform that nations must awaken, that struggling forces should enlighten their peoples on the necessity of resisting all atomic or other armaments especially foreign armaments that come through the building of rocket, naval or other bases... that at the time in which we strongly condemn the carrying out of Atomic tests in the Sahara by France we should not tolerate the acceptance of some Mediterranean countries to the establishment of rocket bases in their territories.



## Mohammed Yala

Representative of F.L.N.

### Loyalty to the Ideal of Freedom

IT IS KNOWN to all, and to the General De Gaulle better than anyone else, that the Algerian people have not been making immense sacrifices in human lives for more than five years, in order to be integrated into any kind of France, but in order to regain their dignity and national independence, of which they were deprived by war.

Thousands of fighters who fell during the numerous risings from 1830 to date were not killed, as far as I know, because they wanted to become Frenchmen. They gave their lives because they wanted to become free citizens of a free Algeria. The sacrifices made by the Algerian people during this long and painful war have forced a President of France to recognize and solemnly state that Algeria is not France, and that Algerians are not Frenchmen. The principle of self-determination does not know of any other interpretation. The temporary Algerian government considers that this action offers the Algerian people an opportunity to organize free elections in Algeria without the military and administrative apparatus set up by the French occupation forces.

The last paragraph of the Declaration of the temporary Algerian government is quite clear in this respect: "The temporary government of the Algerian Republic", states that document, "is ready to negotiate on the political and military conditions of a cease-fire". Moreover this declaration confirms the unity and integrity of Algerian territory, which means that the National Liberation Front of Algeria never represented nor could represent French départements.

There is no room for equivocation, and I shall not dwell on this problem any longer. "The temporary government of the Algerian republic, the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army are one and the same, and will never fly the white flag of surrender.

We transmit the following message to our numerous friends throughout the world: "Be sure that the Algerian people, unanimously with their leaders, will continue to provide a classic example, as in the past, of absolute loyalty to the ideal of freedom, for which thousands of our people have given their lives".

## Drago Vučinić

Chief Editor of "Naša stvarnost"

### War in Algeria - Arab Co-operation - Balkan Relations

IT SEEMS to me that consolidation of peace within the Mediterranean area, and further successful development on the plane of the anti-colonial struggle and the independence in this region depends primarily and from the global view, on three factors: first, the immediate cessation of the colonial war in Algeria; second, the degree of co-operation of the Arab countries in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and interference in their internal affairs; and third, no less important than the first two factors, the establishment of such relations in the Balkans

as would once for all ensure peace and perspectives of lasting co-operation."

"The ending of the war in Algeria is imperative to peace in the Mediterranean, for the simple reason that, it is not a question of the elimination of the cold war but of the ending of a real war which for almost three years has been devastating a small country on the Mediterranean coast and decimating its population. The colonial war which is being waged in Algeria not only threatens the lives and property of the Algerian people, it also endangers the independence of the neighbouring countries, primarily the peoples of Morocco and Tunis and all the peoples inhabiting North Africa. This war damages the prestige of France, it is a drain on her material and moral reserves and resources and, furthermore, it is a challenge to the democratic freedom of the French people. The war itself is a perilous hot-bed of complications on the Mediterranean. It represents, in addition to its pernicious effect, a source of cold war, a factor which does not permit of the stabilization of peace in this part of the world.



"Viewing the case of Mediterranean in a broader sense it must be clear to anyone who considers matters realistically that, without the strengthening and consolidation of co-operation of the Arab peoples in their struggle, the success of these countries in the struggle for their independence, and against the interference of foreign powers in their internal affairs cannot be counted on. Co-operation among the Arab countries is a precondition for the further advance of this region towards progress and wellbeing. One should not have any doubt as to the ability of the Arab countries to find the most suitable forms for the establishment of this co-operation, and any weakening of it would in practice mean the weakening of the anticolonial front, the undermining of the actual strength of the Arab peoples in their struggle for peace and progress. The experience of today is a striking demonstration of this.



"Our attitude on co-operation between the Balkan countries is well known. The Balkan peoples, through their joint struggle against the invader and their struggle for freedom, created conditions for unity and co-operation in the Balkans in the course of World War II, and it appeared that the famous powder keg was to be transformed into an oasis of peace and peaceful co-operation and understanding. Unfortunately the policy after the war, led to the destruction of their unity, to the setting up of bloc frontiers, and to the sowing of renewed distrust and suspicion, which at one time seemed to have vanished into oblivion, never to return. Yugoslavia, by not aligning herself with any of the blocs, made a great contribution to Balkan co-operation and unity, she has remained a reliable factor of peace and security in the Balkans — a bridge which in future too can form a link, presuming of course that the governments of all the Balkan countries are inspired by this policy. Yugoslavia as such represents a reliable factor of security and co-operation in the Balkans.

Speaking about the atom-free zones, we not only favour an atom-free zone in the Balkans and other various regions in the world, but we hold that the entire world should become a united and uniform atom-free zone. We demand that all atom weapons should be banned by the law, that experiments should cease, and the production of these weapons be banned. This is our attitude. It has been proclaimed by



our most authoritative persons and on numerous occasions in the United Nations and other international forums. Our principled support of the idea of an atom-free zone in the Balkans has been declared by President Tito on countless occasions, and in fact he stressed this in his speech delivered recently in Niš. Our stand in respect of atom and rocket-launching ramps in Italy and Greece — is equally well known.

„One should bear in mind the fact that our country has actually contributed to the solution of this question by keeping her national territory outside the blocs, by ensuring her independence, thereby, by herself being a region free of any kind of foreign bases, including atom and rocket-launching ramps. We do not possess bases nor shall we ever do so, regardless of what may happen in the neighbouring countries. This is our greatest contribution to peace, co-operation among the Balkan countries and denuclearization of the Balkan region...”

## THE RESOLUTION of the IIIrd Anti-colonial Conference

RECENT developments in the international situation open fresh prospects and create opportunities for nations to entertain hopes for the establishment of new relations between the powers, which would be contributive to the elimination of the cold war, to the consolidation of peace and to international democratic co-operation. Indeed the relaxation of tension offers the most advantageous conditions for the settlement of urgent world problems such as disarmament, the stopping of nuclear tests, the banning of the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the liquidation of military and rocket bases, the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms, and the organizing of assistance to undeveloped countries.

In the light of the new trends in international relations, fresh opportunities are created for the even more efficacious struggle of the oppressed peoples who are groaning under the colonial yoke. Besides this, the development of the colonial struggle is closely linked with efforts for the stabilization of peace.

The new orientation in the relations between the great powers is creating conditions for the elimination of the policy of force, and the establishment of active and broad co-operation on the basis of equality between all countries, large and small, regardless of their social organization. Active peaceful co-existence is the only way to prevent a new world conflict.

But the road of consolidation of peace and the assertion of the principles of a democratic international co-operation is still made difficult by reactionary elements, who are opposing this process. This makes it incumbent on all democratic forces and all countries to remain vigilant and make the maximum effort to ensure that the development in the direction of relaxing tension may lead to a lasting peace and to international relations based on true equality. It is necessary that all countries should participate in these efforts, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations Organization, in order to safeguard peace and lead to settlement of political and economic problems which affect the world community.

In the present situation fresh opportunities are presenting themselves to the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Middle East for an even more efficacious efforts towards

the solution of their common problems, in the first place for the complete liquidation of colonialism.

The participants in the Conference emphasize that the existence of colonial regimes is an anachronism and a threat to world peace. They maintain that it is necessary to organize relations between peoples and states on principles of respect for sovereignty, equality, non-interference, as well as respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination. In this context, the Conference has addressed an appeal to the responsible powers to hold a round-table conference which would give the initiative for the liquidation of colonial remnants in the world and for the consolidation of peace and security in the spirit of co-operation.

The Resolution notes that a colonial war is being conducted in Algeria, which has already cost a million Algerian lives. However, the struggle of the Algerian people and the support extended to it by all peace-loving peoples have forced France to recognize the Algerian people's right to self-determination.

The Conference notes with satisfaction that the attitude of the provisional Algerian government, especially its declaration of September 28, is the reflection of a sincere desire for peace, and it considers that it may lead to conversations which would put an early end to the existing conflict.

The Conference condemns the attitude of the French Government, including its boycott of the United Nations and its tenacious refusal to open negotiations with the leaders of the Algerian revolution. In this context, the Resolution states that France thus assumes responsibility for the continuation of a destructive war which has already been unanimously condemned by world public opinion.

The Conference pays tribute to the daughters and sons of Algeria who have given their lives for the freedom of their fatherland, and it assures the Algerian people of its firm support and solidarity in the difficult ordeals which they are undergoing. Simultaneously an appeal is being addressed to the international public to undertake the appropriate actions to influence the French Government to arrive at a peaceable and democratic settlement of the Algerian problem, while the organizations of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent are asked to inaugurate the collection of donations for the Algerian population.

The preparations of the French Government for the exploding of the atomic bomb in the Sahara were characterized by the Third Conference as a defiant gesture against the easing of international tensions. The Conference joins whole-heartedly in the protests of African peoples and demands the implementation of the decisions of the UN General Assembly concerning this problem.

The Resolution of the Third Conference of the Mediterranean and the Middle East for the Struggle Against Colonialism expresses its support of the anti-colonial struggle of the people of Oman, demands the application of the United Nations Resolution relating to Palestine, and endorses the self-determination of the inhabitants of Malta, it condemns British policy in Aden and deplores the existence of British military bases on Cyprus.

The Conference addressed greetings to the peoples of Africa who are to gain independence in the near future. The Resolution also greeted the heroic struggle of the African people for independence and noted that the struggle is particularly active in the Congo, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the Cameroons.

The Conference attaches great significance to the problem of development of the undeveloped areas in the world and to economic co-operation between the countries of the Mediterranean and the Middle East.



It is highly necessary, says the Resolution, that the political independence of the liberated countries should be strengthened by complete economic emancipation. Financial, technical and other assistance to the development of undeveloped countries must have no political or military conditions attached to it. The most adequate forms of such assistance can be found in the efforts made through the United Nations. The Conference deems that in the present situation fresh

efforts should be made for the international financing of economic development.

In particular the Conference favours the broadest economic co-operation between the countries of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, deeming that advantageous conditions exist for this. The countries of that area are required to intensify their efforts for the proper solution of these questions.

## YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

### Prospects and Development of Foreign Tourism in Yugoslavia

by Stojan PUDAR

THE GEOGRAPHICAL position of Yugoslavia, deeply indented Dalmatian coast with two hundred warm, sunny days a year, beautiful scenery, numerous mountain rivers spas and lakes have always attracted many foreign tourists, especially from the neighbouring continental countries of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and particularly Germany and Poland, who much prefer this climate to that of the much cooler North and Baltic Seas.

Although the fundamental problems of the tourist trade were never seriously dealt with previously (lack of facilities, inadequate transport communications and roads, etc.) the number of foreign tourists increased from year to year, reaching 287,391 visitors with 1,562,448 overnight bookings in 1938, which represented a fairly substantial source of foreign exchange.

The material basis of the Yugoslav tourist trade at that time consisted of 42,208 hotels, boarding houses and so on, with about 60,000 beds, situated mainly along the Adriatic Coast.

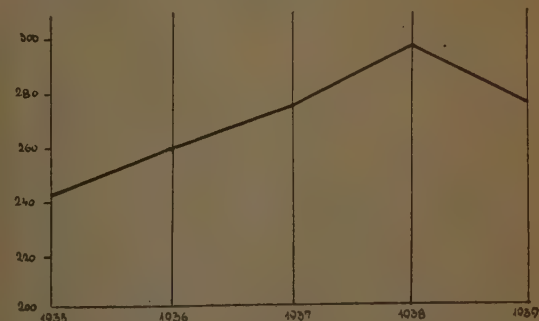
The political affirmation of the new state on the international plane after World War II, its social political system with workers management and social self-government, the growing interest in Europe in Yugoslav medieval art, especially the monasteries and frescoes, contemporary cultural achievements, etc., in addition to the existing natural conditions, appear as a new, but no less important factor in familiarising Yugoslav tourist attractions abroad.

The war-damaged and obsolescent material basis of the tourist trade (about 11,000 hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with 47,000 beds were left) under conditions marked by the vigorous increase of international tourism (the summer season in Europe is reminiscent of a Great Migration) and especially at a time of developed motorized travel (the tendency to see as much as possible within the least time in one or several countries) together with the disproportionately large growth

of internal tourism (2,933,817 visitors in 1953 against 719,610 in 1938, or 417 per cent more), resulting from the greater concern of the new State for the working man, did not allow the growth of international tourism during the immediate post-war years. Owing to the economic blockade and other aspects of political and economic pressure, as well as other objective factors, the flow of foreign tourists to Yugoslavia was fairly small during the initial post-war years, although neighbouring Austria and Italy registered a record rise in the tourist trade by comparison with the pre-war years.

After the disappearance of these objective factors, the growing interests in Yugoslavia became apparent in the sharp rise in the number of the foreign tourists visiting this country, so that the pre-war level was almost reached in 1953 and exceeded in the following years.

Since then foreign tourism in Yugoslavia has shown a sustained upward trend, increasing from year to year (1956 is the only exception, owing to some new measures implemented which had an adverse effect on the development of tourist trade). The upward trend was renewed in 1957; there were 598,845 foreign tourists in Yugo-



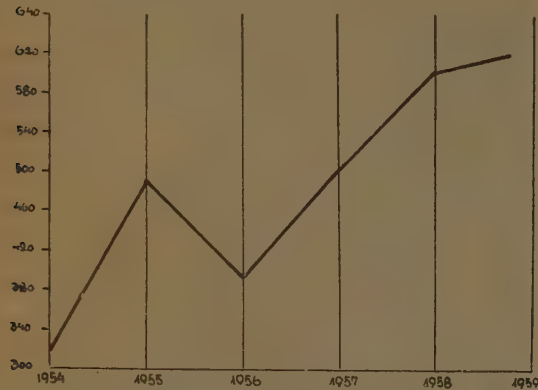
Development of Foreign Tourism in Yugoslavia 1935-1939

(in thousands)



slavia in 1958 and 617,939 during January–August 1959, which is 215 per cent more than in 1938, the pre-war peak year. It should also be mentioned in this connection that the tourist trade is currently increasing by an average of 18 per cent against 4.5 per cent during the 1935–1938 period.

In view of the material basis available, the growth of foreign tourism required the maximum efforts of the people and resources which were directly or indirectly involved in providing services for a far greater number of foreign visitors.



Survey of Foreign Tourism 1954–1959

(in thousands)

The importance of the development of the tourist trade in Yugoslavia does not lie only in the growth of visitors; the change of national structure is by no means less significant.

As before the war, the majority of foreign tourists are Germans and Austrians, and this should also be expected in the future, since they naturally gravitate towards the nearest South-West European littoral countries. However the number of holidaymakers from more distant countries — Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, the Skandinavian countries and the USA — accounts for almost half of the total foreign tourists although the number from these countries in the over-all Yugoslav tourist trade was negligible before the war. If it is also borne in mind that the rate of growth of the number of tourists from these countries is incomparably faster, a further change in national structure in favour of the more distant countries may reasonably be expected.

The transformation of the productive forces as a whole and the development of Yugoslavia from a backward agrarian and industrially-underdeveloped into an advanced, economically-developed country have enabled the tourist trade to occupy a corresponding place in the further development of the country. Whereas the 1947–1956 period was marked by the lagging of the material basis behind the requirements of the growing tourist trade, and the larger investments in the 1957–1961 five-year period mean only the preservation of the existing state of affairs, the long-term plan of tourist development in Yugoslavia (1961–1970) will be characterized by the coordination of the material basis with the increasing international tourist trade — so that

this will become one of the foremost economic activities of the country. The investments provided for this purpose will make the accomplishment of this objective possible.

#### Survey of Investments in Tourist Trade

(in billions of dinars)		
1947–1956	1957–1961	1961–1970
16.4	29	161

Such a long-range investment policy, together with the present efforts being made in this field — the construction of hotels and other new catering projects, the construction of modern highways along the Adriatic coast and in the interior, the development of sea, air and inland transport — will make Yugoslavia a developed tourist country in the foreseeable future.

## Official Statements

### Yugoslav Attitude on...

December 11

**Visit of Italian Minister of Foreign Trade.** — Mr. Del Bo, the Italian Minister of Foreign Trade, who will visit Yugoslavia soon, will examine the different aspects of economic relations and cooperation between the two countries, with the Yugoslav leaders. Economic relations between Italy and Yugoslavia have developed favourably during the past few years and have reached a high level. The possibility of broadening mutual economic relations still further will be discussed during the forthcoming visit.

**Statements of Austrian Foreign Minister Kraiskil.** — „We have not yet received the official transcript of the discussion in the Austrian Parliament. In the light of news agency reports, however, we may state that we consider the debate between the representatives of the two ruling parties and the statement made by Dr Kraiskil the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs as a favourable step in the treatment of relations with Yugoslavia, on the part of the responsible Austrian circles, although we maintain some reserve with regard to certain statements. This refers to the statements made concerning the Yugoslav national minority in Austria. We are able to confirm the report that Dr Kraiskil, the Foreign Minister, will visit Yugoslavia. Talks on this visit are in progress with the Austrian Government, but no date has so far been set.“

**Yugoslav Ambassador Visits De Gaulle.** — „The talks between Radivoje Uvalić, Yugoslav Ambassador to Paris, and President de Gaulle dealt with questions of interest to both countries, and aimed at the further improvement of mutual relations. We consider that, notwithstanding different views on some international questions, cooperation



may be developed in a wide sphere to the benefit of both countries, to that of all-European cooperation and of the strengthening of world peace. The Yugoslav Ambassador in Paris conveyed a personal oral message to President De Gaulle, but we do not know its contents."

**The Balkan Pact and Statements of the Greek Daily „Eleftheria“.** — Our attitude on the military clauses of the Balkan Pact is known. As for co-operation in the political, economic and cultural sphere, — it is being successfully carried out in our relations with Greece, and we wish that the same may be accomplished with Turkey. We also consider that the principles of this co-operation, which are identical in essence with the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, may foster a broader co-operation in the Balkans."

**The Tour of President Eisenhower.** — „We have already stated that personal contacts between the most responsible statesmen of different countries contribute to the improvement of international understanding and the preservation of peace. We believe that the U.S. President's trip will contribute to the attainment of these aims."

**Postponement of Kardelj's Visit to the USA.** — It is true that the visit of Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, to the USA, where he was invited by Harvard University, has been postponed, owing to the Yugoslav Vice President's other pressing engagements.

**Speech by Janos Kadar.** — The part of the speech made by Janos Kadar at the recent Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party referring to the improvement

of relations between our two countries, may be considered favourable. The Yugoslav readiness to develop these relations is known. The part of the report, however, which deals with relations between the two parties in the past, and that referring to Yugoslav relations with the people's republics of Albania and China, contain several notorious and wholly unfounded accusations against our country and the League of Communists. This may well cause concern, as it is a reiteration of the long-since compromised attacks which poisoned our mutual relations. By asserting that Yugoslavia is attacking China and Albania, Kadar brutally distorted the actual facts.

**The „Newsweek“ Reports.** — Asked to comment on the reports published by the American review „Newsweek“ on Yugoslavia, namely such „news items“ as a supposed Tito-Khrushchev meeting in Rumania, a trip of President Tito to Moscow, the „purge“ of party functionaries after the Second Plenary Session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the „trip“ of President Tito to Latin America, the official spokesman stated: „The reports of this news magazine on Yugoslavia provide a flagrant example of irresponsible journalism and the planned dissemination of unfounded and fabricated news. As this review does not have and never had a correspondent in Yugoslavia, one may well inquire as to the source of this misinformation, and its ultimate aim. It is surprising that a section of the Western Press published these fabrications, and regrettable that neither „Newsweek“ nor the majority, of these papers published the Yugoslav denials.“

(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on December 11)

## Documents

# Many countries think the same as Yugoslavia

## — Comrade Tito's Speech at the Solemn Meeting in Zagreb —

The Zagreb City Committee of the League of Communists held a formal session on December 12 dedicated to the Fortieth Anniversary of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Communist Youth League. In the presence of the Secretary General of the Yugoslav League of Communists Josip Broz Tito, members of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Marijan Cvethović, the Secretary General of the City Committee of Zagreb presented Josip Broz Tito with a Charter wherein the citizens of Zagreb express their appreciation and gratitude for his revolutionary work in their midst and the correct Leninist course along which he led the Yugoslav peoples and communists. The Secretary General of the Yugoslav League of Communists Josip Broz Tito held a speech on this occasion from which we are publishing the following excerpts:

COMRADES, we made a fine start and succeeded, with much effort and much sweat, in reconstructing our country. But when the time arrived for us to begin building socialism and constructing the new, there was a hitch. Yet matters were not hampered by subjective elements. Objective reasons were involved, which the year 1948 had brought in

its train, when there were attacks against our Party, against our country, against our leadership. I do not propose to reiterate those things here, because we discussed them at the Fifth, at the Sixth and at our last, the Seventh Congress. But it is interesting that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (formerly the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) has succeeded in overcoming even these, the greatest difficulties.

## NOT ONLY COMMUNISTS, BUT ALL OUR PEOPLE ARE PROUDLY WORKING FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

What was it about? We had no friends in the West, and here we were refused friendship. We stood alone once again. Did that demoralize us? No! We knew our own forces, we knew the strength of our people and the consciousness of our people, and the most conscious section, the vanguard, of our people, the League of Communists. And we boldly accepted the challenge, and began to build our own life in our own way. Here, too, our Party was victorious. Our Party proved that it was not discouraged, nor would be, even in the face of the worst difficulties. We did the best we knew and could.

Of course, this cost us a good deal materially and we had

to turn for assistance where we thought that we should obtain it. First, we recognized the debts which we had inherited in nearly all countries, from as far back as the First World War. All these were accepted and recognized by us. We are repaying them and we have repaid nearly everything, in fact. There is little left under that heading. That helped us to win both confidence and assistance. But the other side told us that we could not build socialism with American wheat and American assistance, and that we would relapse into capitalism. But no. Today here we are, a socialist country! We are working with enthusiasm for the construction of socialism, and not only we Communists, but all our people, who are admired by the whole world. All of us together are prepared to follow our path in spite of everything, and build our life in accordance with the conditions existing in our country.

They have reproached us, of course now, since the war, with not being internationalists. But who was it that first sent 1,200 Communists, their best cadres, to Spain, to fight fascism on foreign terrain? We sent them, and, of course, others were also sending them. Six hundred of our Communists were left on the battlefield in Spain. During the attack against Czechoslovakia, hundreds of thousands volunteered to go to defend Czechoslovakia. When the attack against the Soviet Union occurred, we intervened at once. We did not know then what would happen and who would finish off whom. We considered it to be our sacred internationalist duty to join the battle when the greatest country of socialism — the Soviet Union — was attacked.

We had no stores of arms but we seized those arms, thus contributing to the struggle as best we could. We strove to engage as many as possible of the enemy in our country rather than get rid of him. Unfortunately we are given no credit for this today. But that is irrelevant. History has recorded it, and no one can erase it, and it can only serve to honour our people.

They accuse us, because of that, of renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have not renounced it. It is true that we are not beating our breasts with the appellation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but we are acting, and we have all the elements that belie the denunciations of the class enemies. We have different working methods, more humane methods.

We know that the nucleus of democracy is deeply imbedded among the people, and among Communists, and we are trying to cultivate that nucleus further, so that it may not only continue to germinate but to grow. But that is conscious democracy. And, of course, when it begins to contradict itself, we have the means to prevent it. In this, too, lies the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Bulgaria today some write that we have succeeded in maintaining ourselves in power because we control the police and because we are taking draconian measures, and on the other hand, they say that we have renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just imagine what a paradox that is.

I can say, comrades, that this matter — I mean the relations of our country with the Eastern countries — regardless of the fact that it cannot prevent us from going constantly ahead, still hurts us, and we deplore it.

Why is it necessary that such relations should exist between countries having the socialist system? They interpret every gesture of ours and every act of ours in such a way as always to find something to dislike. We cannot act all the time as others should like! We are talking openly, not to deride anyone, but so that what is wrong should be put right: we are also speaking of ourselves, we are also directing criticism at ourselves, and as we are also internationalists, why should we not have the right to tell them, too, that they have no right to interfere in our affairs.

## REVISION OF BAD PRACTICE, NOT OF THE THEORY OF MARXISM

I would not say that there is actually such interference now, but that interference has taken another form of late, the form of the reputed theoretical treatment of various articles in their newspapers, which are not by any means comradely. For example, let me mention, comrades, our successes, which are known today to the whole world: our successes in agriculture and industry. Even those successes are represented by them in another way. They dare not declare to their masses that we have achieved these by truly new methods, our own methods; but they say that it happened because it rained, in fact, because providence granted it to us. I don't believe it rained only in our country last year, but it rained around it as well. Comrades, we deplore this. We would be glad if they had achieved such successes, for they would be successes for the whole socialist world, and that would have had an effect also on those countries in which there is no socialism as yet. In such a way it would be sooner shown that socialism is capable of organizing economic development in a superior way. We greatly deplore this attitude towards us. We are trying to get them to understand us somehow, and we hope that one day they will call a halt to the attacks against us, which in any case have no sense and lead nowhere.

Comrades, now that I have touched upon those criticisms which are addressed to us from different socialist countries, I am bound to say that I do not propose to deal with the criticism from the leaders of China and Albania. For, that is not criticism, but calumny, which is neither pretty nor cultured, so that it does not even rate an answer. Instead, I wish to say something about the present very artful and reputedly theoretical criticism that we are revisionists. Well, let us look into that, too. They have adopted many things for which they criticised us in 1948, and now they too are doing a little revision. In their case it is socialist development, but in our case they say it is revision — and it is revision, but revision of bad practice and not revision of theory. It is revision of

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the Stalinist method of government, the method where only his ego was competent to decide and which, in the end, proved bad. After the attack against us in 1948 we had to revise everything that had previously hampered us from going ahead at a quicker rate. While we were doing so, it was not true to say that we revised Marxism-Leninism. No, we are faithful disciples of Marx, Engels and Lenin, but we do not accept them dogmatically, because Marx, Engels and Lenin did not know that rockets would be going to the moon today, that the atomic bomb would exist, that new relationships would occur in the world; because they could not even have imagined that technology would reach such a high degree of development.

Our fundamental line is to build up socialism, and our practice will depend on what is the easiest and quickest way to reach that goal. Why should this worry anyone? But we object to being called revisionists when we are not. I shall not say that we are better Marxists than they, but they should admit that we are better practitioners. They attacked us a great deal on account of the disbandment of the Peasant Work Co-operatives, saying that it would encourage the re-emergence of capitalism in the village, and that is what they are stubbornly asserting even now. But we have reduced ownership of land to such proportions that no one can become a capitalist on 10 hectares of land, even if he has ten children. If he can earn enough to buy a refrigerator, to build a house for himself, and so on, that is all right. For our aim is that both worker and the peasant should enjoy a better life.

Was it revisionism when, lacking the material means to give to our agriculture everything necessary for its superior development, we allowed those Co-operatives which were incapable of survival to be disbanded? No! We have not renounced the realization of socialism in the village, only we are following an entirely different road. We are not taking land away from anyone, but we are promoting one sector after another. We have agricultural farms on which we have developed productivity of labour to the maximum, we have the remaining Work Co-operatives, which are resolutely progressing, and we also have Co-operatives which are making contracts with individual peasants.

That is our own line in the realization of the socialist way in the village. In this sense we have revised the practice. For we did not want to act according to a set pattern, to employ our whole army and militia in sending thousands and thousands of peasants to jail and hard labour and thus to collectivize the peasants, who would look on passively and who would not give us bread. To us it is important that we have something to eat, that we have enough bread, that we can obtain more means and promote our industry even more. The rate at which the peasants join the Co-operatives is not a crucial point for us. The crucial point for us is what we are doing, for it safeguards the realization of socialism in the village. We shall continue along that road, raising productivity in our agriculture by modern methods.

When we look at and survey seriatim all the accusations that have been levelled against us, against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, now and in 1948 — some of which they refer to even today, while others are slightly glossed over — practically nothing remains of them. There only remains this — we are not in the camp. We have our own idea about that. We consider that in today's phase of international relations, when the situation is such that even larger conflicts may occur, there is no point in encouraging those elements which might strain international relations. And blocs are never a happy affair. In the past, too, there have been various alliances, but they have always conduced to war. Communist or socialist elements exist, not only in the countries where there is socialist rule, but in other countries also. They should be allowed access, and they should not be separated and shoved among capitalist elements. Let us only take the countries of Asia and Africa which have already freed themselves; there one sees the development of a growing consciousness of the need of a socialist-type development, and

those countries will take the road of realization of socialism as soon as they are able to do so.

Of course the road is long, and these elements are trying to adopt socialist methods in land cultivation, in industry, and so on, and are not following the classical capitalist road. They are more inclined to follow the socialist road, and they proclaim this too. However, they are being reproached with merely claiming to be headed for socialism, but that it is not socialism. Why disparage an aspiration which exists among the people, and which is accepted by the leading figures? Such leaders as are realizing the aspiration of their whole people are worthy of tribute. Here I have in mind India, Burma and many other countries which profess a desire to proceed in the direction of socialism. Because of this, when we are discussing this problem, we are convinced that those who reproach us most because we are not in the camp, are wrong.

#### THE CONCEPTION OF CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN THE BLOCS HARBOURS A GREAT DANGER

Comrades, now I wish to pass to international ground, and say a few words on that subject. Where it is a question of international relations, of how the principles of active peaceful co-existence are realized today, I am bound to say that blocs are not a happy solution for the realization of such ideas and principles. Where it is a question of active peaceful co-existence, this should encompass all countries, and not merely the socialist camp and the Western bloc. The Western bloc does not include all countries, but only a section of them — those that make up NATO. As a result, such a proceeding may bring evil consequences.

Some take exception today to our saying that such a conception of co-existence between the blocs amounts to an ordinary truce, which harbours the great danger of an explosion, which might occur some day.

The whole world is closely integrated and there are enormous problems, such as the backwardness and undevelopment of countries with hundreds of millions of inhabitants. This problem should be solved jointly with the Eastern and Western countries, which should demonstrate the value of active peaceful co-existence on that issue. This is a fruitful opportunity to apply such co-existence rather than to vegetate beside one another and go on sharpening knives surreptitiously to see who will finish off whom some day. Where it is a question of peaceful co-existence, an attempt should be made to invest it with an active meaning, so that it is not co-existence just between the blocs, but between all peoples and states, without distinction as to system.

Today the opinion that some new social system can only be created over the barricades has been discarded. We are reproached with asserting that a social transmutation can be effected by peaceful means. What we said is that in some countries it is feasible to proceed in the direction of socialism without severe internal armed clashes and upheavals. But of course even that is not excluded, where there are forces which oppose these aspirations of the majority. Therefore, we are not some kind of pacifists who would be absolutely against any violence where there are such questions as the right of the huge majority of the people of a country to decide themselves about the type of internal system they want to have.

#### WE GAVE NO CAUSE FOR THE DENUNCIATION OF OUR COUNTRY AT THE HUNGARIAN CONGRESS

Comrades, while on the subject of matters of foreign policy, I am bound to mention the criticism which was levelled at us at the Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party in Budapest. We greatly deplore this. We now have more or less good relations with Hungary in the economic respect, and also politically. But why was it necessary to underline again some guilt of ours at that Congress, i. e., interference

in the internal affairs of Hungary. As is known, from many of our documents, speeches, and so on, we said that we did not interfere in their internal affairs, that unpleasant incidents occurred there which we condemn just as they, and you are aware that we even supported them. Whom did it serve to drag these things out all over again? But, we do not want to appear guilty before the world, before history, of something that we are not guilty of. Some day, if the need arises, we shall bring all the documents into the open, and then let people judge if we are guilty. We are absolutely blameless in this. We deplore it and we wish that they would stop, for we have given no cause for anyone to denounce our country and our leadership at the Hungarian congress, for reputed interference in their internal affairs. That was a mistake, but such a mistake affects us deeply, because we cannot assume the blame before history of doing any thing which was against the interests of the Hungarian people, i. e., of interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary. I say that we can demonstrate before the face of the whole world how matters were, if such a thing should still be necessary to anyone. But it should not be necessary for us, for we support the view before the United Nations that Hungarian questions should not be raised, because stabilization has begun, because conditions there are in order and we wish that the Western countries would not interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. Our desire, actually, is be that that question be relinquished in the United Nations and not raised any more. You know very well that they, too, are aware this that — and despite the fact that we are getting absolutely no benefit from it, we perseveringly endorse the principle that the Hungarian question is the concern of the Hungarian people and that no one should interfere in their internal affairs. That is what I wanted to say and declare in reply to those attacks which were made against us.

Thus, for example, comrade Kadar says, „We deplore that the Yugoslav comrades are denouncing our friends China and Albania.“ So we are denouncing two countries which are their friends. But who is denouncing whom? Apparently he has got somewhat mixed up. It would be better if he had said, „We are glad that China and Albania are denouncing you,“ and not that we are denouncing them, for we are not denouncing them. After all, it is disloyal to us to take under protection somebody who has been attacking our country and everything that is being done here, in the obscene and unscrupulous way that some of the leaders of those two countries have been doing. We wish that such a thing should not be repeated. We wish still further to consolidate our relations with Hungary. We are neighbours, we have a great deal in common, and we could co-operate in economic exchanges in the interests of both countries — and we ought to do this also in political contacts.

#### WE DESIRE THE BEST RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.S.R.

The same is the case with Bulgaria. The situation with Bulgaria has improved of late and if some of their philosphers who write very „wise“ articles from time to time about the so-called revisionist deviation of the Yugoslav Communists, stopped that practice, it would be far better both for them and for our relations, i.e., for our co-operation. We do not say that it should be made impossible for Communists of one party to address criticism to those of another party, in another country; but such criticism should be founded on something. All right, go ahead and make it possible for your people as well to get to know what we say. Our people can always know what they say about us, but we try to keep all those utterances of theirs which are offensive to our people from their ears, for otherwise it would be difficult to justify our aspiration for good-neighbour relations and as intimate co-operation as possible. Those are the trifles that hamper the correct development of these international relations.

It is the same with other countries. I think, while on the subject of those relations between our country and those

socialist countries, that recent times have seen a diminution of the attacks. Now they have a different system: they are making use of taciturnity, of ignoring our more important statements, declarations, and even State holidays. For example, the press in the Soviet Union has not noted this holiday of ours. That is not nice and it is not the way to behave. All this creates mistrust among our people.

All right, you say you want good relations along State lines. But if it is a question of good relations along State lines, it is at least necessary to note loyally the State holidays of the other country, the more so if it is the holiday of a revolutionary action, the holiday of the Revolution, which Yugoslavia won in a mighty combat side by side with them, with the Soviet Union, settling also with the class enemies, winning victory for her right and opportunity to build socialism. It is therefore a great holiday, which socialist countries should appreciate indeed. We deplore this matter. I believe it is an oversight which probably will not be repeated. Our relations with the Soviet Union, discounting some things, are good, and we desire those relations to be as good as possible. In foreign policy there are very few questions on which we diverge or disagree. We are agreed on all principal questions, and we have always welcomed the actions of comrade Khrushchev which have the character of striving for peace and the policy of active co-existence. We shall uphold all actions of the Soviet Union relating, say, to disarmament and the question of relaxation of international tensions in general. What then is it all about? Well, we are an independent, sovereign country, as such we sometimes have interests of our own, which are not prejudicial to anybody. When we defend our interests and take, say, certain actions, in the interests of our country, they are not directed against the Soviet Union, nor against any other socialist country. On the contrary, they may mean the reverse. Why then do they reproach us? We cannot all play on the same string. Music is fine when it is played on several strings.

#### MANY COUNTRIES THINK THE SAME AS YUGOSLAVIA

Well, comrades, that is what I have to say about the question of those relations.

Allow me now to say a few words about foreign policy and some other problems. Both I and Koča Popović, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, as well as a whole range of comrades, have spoken on the subject. Today and here, however, I should like to deal once again with certain elements and say a few words, for questions are always being asked from various sides that can be answered, even if nothing new and special can be added. When the question is raised of, say, whether the situation today can be looked upon with optimism, I think that it can, and that we are far better off today than we were a year or two ago.

Today the ice has begun to move. There have been contacts between the representatives of the Soviet Union and America, and Khrushchev and Eisenhower want to come to a summit meeting to talk things over. All those are major developments that we welcome from the bottom of our hearts. It means that men are realizing that it is necessary to act, to establish contacts, to converse, in order to arrive at mutual relaxation and to prevent the worst — war. I might say that none of us is as over-optimistic as to expect every item of the agenda to be settled at the first summit meeting.

I don't think that any of the biggest issues will be settled. But it will be fortunate even if they only agree to go on with the series of meetings; sooner or later such meetings are bound to lead to a final settlement of the various problems which confront the whole of mankind today. A better mutual acquaintanceship and a better, more realistic mutual appraisal will make for the settlement of matters, sooner or later.

The question, before us, comrades, is now as follows: Mr. Eisenhower and comrade Khrushchev having met, and since



matters now are proceeding in the direction of pacification and reducing world tensions, some people outside our country say that Yugoslavia has discharged her role and she now has no function at all. If only we had the good fortune to have had such substitutes before who would work in that direction! But Yugoslavia has not lost her function. Yugoslavia will continue to work perseveringly, for there are many countries in the world which think the same as Yugoslavia — and we shall work with those countries which belong to neither bloc, and assist those forces in both the one and the other bloc which are progressive, and which lead in the direction of relaxation. Of course, if Comrade Khrushchev has the right view that we can welcome, we shall wholeheartedly welcome it, but we shall not quarrel on the other side if they have a different view which we do not like. We shall tell them that they are wrong. And I think that nobody is entitled to strike us off the face of the earth for that, as if we had no further purpose, as if we were played out.

Yugoslavia's isolation from the international scene is an extremely hard proposition. Our country has achieved self-assertion, and not by her consistent foreign policy alone. We stand firmly on a line which is pretty stable. Yugoslavia has gained her great prestige also because she has achieved inside the country what is today a solid creation, a strong State. Our country is not large numerically; it is not large geographically; but it is powerful in the moral qualities of its peoples, who have passed through all phases of their history, who have endured every ordeal, yet remaining consistent and proud, but at the same time extending their hand to everybody who is willing to co-operate with them in a friendly way.

#### ALL INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS SHOULD BE SOLVED IN A PEACEFUL WAY

Why do we consider that peace will be preserved? Why are we so deeply convinced of this? I think that you all are convinced that peace will be preserved, that it must be preserved. Today the technical means of war devastation are of such terrible dimensions and would have such a terrible effect that it is clear to every reasonable person that it would not be a question of a war in which one would vanquish another, but all would be vanquished. It would be general devastation. And who wants such devastation today? What for? Perhaps on account of the German question? The German question should be settled by the German people. True, there are two states there today: Eastern and Western Germany. Adenauer does not admit that of course.

But sooner or later people will be found in Western Germany who will take this for granted, and who will have to take account of the fact. Is the whole world to fight because there are two Germanys? No, nobody is going to fight because of that. Is there some other problem, somewhere else, say in Asia or on the Indian-Chinese border? Would it pay to provoke a world war because of that? It would not! Nehru put the matter very realistically, and today we see that even the Chinese comrades are beginning to understand this. It must be realized that it is nonsense to use such methods toward a neighbouring country. If the principle is adopted at one of those meetings — if not at the first then certainly at a subsequent one — that all international questions and questions between two states should be settled in a peaceful way not by armed force, if that is accepted in principle by all countries; at the summit, and before the United Nations; then it will be easier to solve other questions, the disarmament problem included.

If the question of disarmament is raised today, and the question remains open, then everybody will go on trying to

conceal something and sharpen his knife where nobody can see him. That would be wrong. I believe that peace will be preserved, because lethal and terribly destructive instruments exist, of which the whole world goes in fear. Today it is no longer possible for some maniac, some madman, even if he were found, to lead a whole people into war against another people. No, such a thing will not happen. Hitler was able to do it, but now times have changed.

I believe, comrades, that today we find ourselves in an epoch when the peoples of the whole world can breathe a sigh of relief, and peacefully apply themselves to their internal creative tasks. We find ourselves in an epoch when fresh questions are appearing on the agenda, not questions of war or peace, but questions of co-operation, economics etc.

And on the subject of economic co-operation, the question of economic competition also arises. Allow me to state my opinion on that matter. Economic competition is a very good thing, but without dumping. It would be very fine if all countries, both Eastern and Western, which are rich and highly-developed, were to allocate as much means as possible to assist the undeveloped countries of Africa and Asia. This would gradually liquidate an existing element — the latent danger of a new conflict, if not for the moment a world war, then a local one. That is the way I see economic competition, i. e., not as competition between the blocs, but as competition as to who will give more — not, however, with conditions or designs to enlarge the sphere of influence at the same time, but magnanimously to help these peoples to raise themselves as soon as possible. For it is through no fault of theirs that these countries now find themselves in a position which is not only far behind the most developed countries, but even the less developed ones. That is what I wanted to say about the foreign policy problems.

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# Development of the Communes and Self-government, and Increasing Concern for the Welfare of the Individual — Fundamental Task of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People

— Extract from the Report by Hasan Brkić —

*The tenth Plenary Session of the Federal Committee of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance of Working People was held under the presidency of Josip Broz Tito in Beograd on December 15. The Plenum examined topical organizational and political problems of the Socialist Alliance, a report on this subject having been submitted by Hasan Brkić. A report on the cooperation of the Socialist Alliance with the labour and other progressive movements in the world was delivered by Veljko Vlahović member of the Presidency of the Federal Committee. It was decided on this occasion to hold the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance in Beograd in the second half of April 1960.*

*Here are some excerpts from the reports of Hasan Brkić and Veljko Vlahović:*

**S**Ocial self-government and the correctly charted policy of economic development in Yugoslavia has led to the vigorous progress of the socialist forces in all spheres of social life, and the manifestation of individual and collective initiative on a scale unprecedented in any social system so far. The Socialist Alliance developed under the new conditions, and its role was enhanced in the guidance of the intensive and manifold social activities characteristic of this period.

The communal system developed parallel with the strengthening of the social political role of the workers' councils and the extension of the material basis of district councils and other bodies of social management. Major changes in territorial administration were carried out in this period, which contributed to the successful carrying out of the fundamental principle of the Yugoslav communal system — that the municipalities be organized as strong economic and social communities.

The jurisdiction of municipalities was widened and supplemented by the Federal and Republican laws of 1957 and 1958, while the introduction of a new system of distribution of the income of economic organizations, which came into effect in 1958, constituted the most important measure for the strengthening of the communes. The new system of distribution marked the further adjustment of socialist relations in production to those of distribution, in which the commune and its bodies play a responsible social-economic role. The material basis of the communes has thus been broadened, and new sources of income created, on which they decide independently.

The political mechanism of the communes, which now covers and inter-connects all self-governing bodies, is becoming to an ever-greater degree the expression of the direct social and political activities and will of the citizens, so that the Yugoslav government system is developing steadily into a "social-economic organization" for the discharge of "affairs of common interest for the producers and citizens in general, and for their territorial communities". The introduction of producers' councils in the municipal people's committees has increased the influence of the direct producers on the activities and policy of the communes.

The growth of socialist relations in society and of the social economic role of the workers' councils was a decisive factor in this development. Major changes were carried out in this period in the economic system, especially in the distribution of income of enterprises, thus broadening the material basis of workers' self-government and the rights of the direct producers to decide freely on the distribution of

net income to personal earnings and to the other funds of enterprises. These major changes have enabled the increasing material interest of the working collectives to be paralleled by a growing interest in the development of the productive forces, both of the individual workers and the communes.

This period was marked by the strengthening of communes as social-economic organizations and hence by the affirmation of the communal system. The communes have now assumed responsible functions in the development of the productive forces, and are becoming a decisive factor in the creation of the material conditions for the improvement of the standard of living and public services. The communal funds and resources totaled slightly over 19 billion dinars in 1955, and rose to over 279 billion in 1958. The funds of the economic organizations meanwhile increased from 357 billion to almost 600 billion dinars. These figures testify to the profound changes carried out in social relations and the ever-stronger role of workers' self-management and the commune in the social and economic life of the country.

...The strengthening of social self-government, which was a decisive factor in the rapid development of the productive forces and productivity, and the coordination of the aims of economic development with a steady rise in the standard of living, led to rapid progress in the economic and social life of the country as a whole. A dynamic development has been observed during the past three years, when the motive power of the Yugoslav social-economic system acquired an ever-broader scope. The level which social economic forces reached made possible a rise in individual consumption and spending thus creating new demands, which act as an incentive to the working people, not only in production but also in other spheres of social life.

Owing to these far-reaching changes the Yugoslav socialist society in developing more freely under the influence of new objective laws and the concrete social economic interests of the working people, who are conscious of their role and rights. It is just here that the essential difference between the Yugoslav social system and the system of administrative management, in which the social forces are suppressed and their development stunted under the pressure of the forms imposed from above is most obvious.

This development led to the transference of the heaviest stress of the social political activities of all organizations, including the Socialist Alliance, to the basic units of society — the self-governing bodies in collectives, co-operatives, communes, public services etc. The encouragement and guidance of the initiative of the working people manifested in the self-governing organizations, and the struggle for their ful-



filament in all sectors of social life, were decisive factors in the organizational political development and activities of the Socialist Alliance in this period. The Socialist Alliance exerted an ever-stronger influence on the inclusion of hundreds of thousands of citizens in the work of the bodies of social management and the strengthening of these bodies, and it was thus built up into an organization dealing with everyday programmes of work, and with the aims and tasks concerned with the socialist development of the country.

Under the new conditions the Socialist Alliance widened the scope of its political and social activities which, in turn, influenced the substance and methods of its work. Today there is no major problem encountered in the direct activities of the masses which is not discussed in the organizations and leading bodies of the Socialist Alliance. The complex mechanism of the commune, which includes the people's committees with their councils and voters' meetings, workers' councils, housing communities etc. could only function successfully with the sustained and large-scale social and political activity of the Socialist Alliance and other social organizations. The substance of the political activities of the Socialist Alliance has therefore become more concrete, and is concentrated on the problems arising from the development, practice and activities of the self-governing bodies.

The meetings of the organization of the Socialist Alliance are centres of constructive proposals, critical comment and proposals of the citizens. There the concrete problems of the communes, settlements and towns, and institutions such as the annual plan, the development programme of the peasant co-operatives, problems of communal life (the construction of roads, streets, settlements, water works etc.) the organization of supply, work of the housing communities, co-operative councils, school committees etc. are discussed. Their vigorous political activity was further strengthened on the eve of the VIlth Congress of the League of Communists. Their decisions, and especially the Programme of the League of Communists, which was adopted as the Charter of socialist self-government, contributed notably to the enthusiastic enlistment of the socialist forces in the everyday struggle for the fostering of socialist democratic relations in all bodies of management, for the most rapid economic development of the country...

At its present stage the development of the communal system imposes the strengthening of those forms of citizen participation within the framework of the narrower residential units, which will make possible a common activity of all social factors regarding problems of importance in everyday life and in socialist relations in society, this being their most important task. It is here that the Yugoslav communal mechanism, apart from the workers' council and other self-governing institutions, has found firm support. In this domain the organizations of the Socialist Alliance are acquiring new qualities, new impulses, new substances and forms of work, and vast scope for direct and concrete social-political initiative.

Everyday concern for the material conditions of the individual promotion — care for his individual consciousness, education, richer cultural life and recreation, the social and health services, the exercise of civil rights, the more efficient functioning of the public services, the creation of human relations and norms of socialist social behaviour — these constitute the essential tasks of the Socialist Alliance as the political basis of the self-governing mechanism, and especially its organizations in the commune. This activity of the organization and the leadership of the Socialist Alliance in the commune, the need that it should become the centre where the fundamental political problems are deliberated and views and proposals harmonized from the standpoint of the communal interests and those of the socialist community, will offer opportunities for the stronger mobilization of the

socialist forces in the solution of the increasingly complex problems called forth by the development of a socialist society. This place and role of the organizations and leadership of the Socialist Alliance in the advancement of the communes is in my opinion, an important factor in the further elaboration of the organizational structure of the Socialist Alliance.

...The further development of the communal system, the growth of the initiative and share of the working collectives in the work of self-governing organizations and institutions, the ever-greater concern for the individual, constitute the fundamental tasks of the Socialist Alliance. Its activities in this field should be far greater than has been the case so far. The social economic problems encountered by the workers' councils, co-operative councils, producers' councils, the self-governing bodies in the public services etc., must be referred to the organizations of the Socialist Alliance. In the context of these tasks I would call attention to some problems pertaining to social political role of the councils attached to the commune, housing communities and local communities, whose activities provide increasingly important support for the activities of the organizations and leadership of the Socialist Alliance.

With the development of social self-government in all fields of social life, the role of the councils in the commune, which are developing at present primarily as social political bodies, has also been increased. There are over 8,000 councils with over 2,000 commissions operating in the communes at present. Their activities cover general administration, economy, education, culture, social insurance, mother and child welfare etc. Relying on the self-governing bodies in the respective domain, the councils are now in a better position to deliberate the problems of self-governing organizations in a broader perspective, thus coordinating their activities in an ever more comprehensive system of social control...

## THE RADICAL HUMANIST

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# It is necessary to develop the most arduous forms of co-operation between parties and movements of working classes, disregarding ideological differences

— Extract from the Report by Veljko Vlahović —

**A** PART FROM its participation in the congresses of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia has had no other contacts with the People's Front organizations in the socialist countries. In addition to the campaign against the so-called "Yugoslav revisionism", in which some leaders of bourgeois parties affiliated to the Fronts also took part, this co-operation has been influenced by the very character of these organizations, whose international activity is little observed. In the period following 1948, the People's Front organizations in East European countries were side-tracked. But efforts to revive their work might have been noticed in recent years. The character of these organizations is determined by the absence of local organizations and of lively everyday political and social work, known to us from the work of the Socialist Alliance.

Co-operation between our social organizations and the social organisations in some East European countries was, however, more intensive and comprehensive during 1959. Contacts with the organisations in the Soviet Union and Poland were most numerous; they were followed by contacts with those in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, while Hungary, East Germany and Rumania lagged considerably behind these countries. It is known that there were no contacts with two countries of the socialist camp, the Chinese People's Republic and Albania.

It should be emphasised that the co-operation between the social organisations and similar organisations in the Soviet Union, Poland, and in recent months also Bulgaria, has produced favourable results. This co-operation would certainly have been still more favourable had it not been hampered and often subjected to the well-known interpretation of socialist reality in our country. This was the reason why those questions which touched upon the spheres of ideology and party politics, i. e., questions of a distinctly political character, were avoided in all contacts and talks. This certainly resulted in the contacts and talks being less comprehensive and more one-sided in character. I think that the existing co-operation can be developed still more, that it can be more diverse and comprehensive, and that it would be to the benefit of peace and further socialist development.

The present state of relations between the labour movement in our country, whose leading force is the League of Communists, and other communist parties, is not only unsatisfactory, but it indicates that certain negative manifestations, which found expression during the post-war period of development of the labour movement, are still active. A more realistic grasping of the causes and effects of these manifestations could only be beneficial to the whole labour movement, and fresh efforts towards improving relations should be made in the coming period. The fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia exchanges its publications for material published by a large number of communist parties, and the fact that contacts and talks with leaders of other communist parties occasionally take place, are certainly favourable. These talks are in most cases very useful, although they are not official. Life itself and practice indicate that despite the ideological differences, the problem

of mutual relations should be approached more open-mindedly and with understanding.

As far as this year's development of co-operation between the Socialist Alliance and the socialist and social-democratic parties is concerned, certain characteristic manifestations might have been observed. For many years now, the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia have maintained the view that it is necessary to work on the development of the most varied contacts and forms of co-operation between the parties and movements of the working class, regardless of ideological differences, on condition that the co-operation be equal, and free from any attempt whatsoever at interference in the internal affairs of individual parties. We are aware of the fact that such co-operation will be difficult to realize, especially after the lengthy period of ever wider rift within the labour movement, and in conditions of the cold war, which has added to the further widening of the rift. Almost ten years have passed since our first contacts with the social-democratic parties and movements. This period has convinced us that the efforts we have been making have not been futile, and that new efforts should be made, in spite of various difficulties and undesirable manifestations.

The positive changes in the general international situation, the changes which are taking place within the labour movement itself, the logic of social processes and trends, the interests of the working class as the most progressive force in contemporary society, are creating more favourable conditions for the action of the conscious socialist forces towards the constant strengthening of those forces, which in co-operation between labour movements constitutes one of the most important elements in the further affirmation and strengthening of the role of the working class. If to this we add the successes achieved by our country in its internal development, as well as the further strengthening of the international reputation and position of our country, we can easily understand the increased interest in our country taken by the social-democratic parties, trade unions, youth organisations, and even those parties which have the strongest prejudice against our country.

In these conditions certain steps have been taken by individual parties for the resumption or establishment of more intensive contacts, as well as for the acceptance of our steps in this direction. During 1959 exchanges of opinion took place with leaders of the West German Social-Democratic party in Belgrade and Bonn, talks were held with leaders of the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish social-democratic parties during the visit of Comrade Kardelj to these countries, and there were contacts with leaders of the British Labour party and the Belgian Socialist party. Among other important contacts, one should mention the participation of representatives of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation in the Congress of the Belgian trade union, the visit of a study group of the youth organisation of the West German Social-Democratic party, the talks between the President of the youth organisation of the Norwegian Workers' party and representatives of the People's Youth Organisation, etc.

All these contacts and talks have created conditions for



still more intensive contacts and co-operation in the coming year.

Relations with the Italian Socialist party should be stressed in particular. They have been further consolidated and developed this year, which is borne out by the visit of Signor Nenni, its Secretary General, who has recently been the guest of the Socialist Alliance.

In Asia, contacts and co-operation with a large number of socialist parties and movements have continued. This year alone, nine prominent leaders of the Japanese Socialist party visited Yugoslavia, whereas a number of representatives of the Socialist Alliance were in Tokyo and had useful contacts and talks with the Japanese Socialists. The strengthening of relations between the Socialist Alliance and the socialist parties and movements in Asia this year is borne out by the visit to Yugoslavia of a delegation of the Socialist party of Burma, the visit of a delegation of the Indian Praja-Socialist party, the participation of our delegation in the Congress of that party in Bombay, the lengthy stay in Yugoslavia of a study group of the Indian Sarvodaya Socialist movement, the visit of a delegation of the Socialist party of Ceylon, the visit of a delegation of the Socialist Alliance in the National Congress of Nepal, the visit of representatives of the Mapam party, etc. Despite the differences in attitude towards a series of questions, these contacts have contributed to better mutual acquaintance, greater understanding of various manifestations and problems and the creation of conditions for further more comprehensive co-operation.

This year there was also a marked improvement of relations between the Socialist Alliance and the socialist movements in a series of South American countries. Apart from the already traditional contacts with the People's Socialist party of Chile, useful contacts took place and talks were held on various occasions this year with leaders of the socialist parties of Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, with the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia whose leader, Paz Estenssoro, former President of the Republic, visited our country. At the same time contacts were established with other progressive parties and movements in South America, including the Acción Democrática in Venezuela, the Movement of "July 26th" in Cuba and the National Liberation party in Costa Rica. The results of these contacts can only be beneficial, as they are based on the principle of mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, and offer the opportunity of gaining a clearer picture of contemporary problems.

In the African area, apart from continuing contacts with organisations and movements in the Arab countries, relations were established this year with a series of organisations and movements in so-called Black Africa. In view of the intensive social-political development in this area, it will be necessary, in the coming period, to invest fresh efforts for wider and more intensive co-operation. These contacts so far have convinced us that the attitude taken by our country toward the colonial question, the principled striving of Yugoslav representatives, especially within the United Nations, for the African peoples' right to national independence, are perfectly well-known and appreciated. Besides this, we must bear in mind the fact that these movements are acquiring an ever greater role, not only in Africa, but also in international relations as a whole.

On this occasion I should like to point out the increased activity of our social organisations in all drives for the intensifying of the struggle for peace. The comprehensiveness of these drives, the increased number of peace organisations in the world, the need for affiliation to individual movements, such as the Council for the Struggle against Colonialism in the Mediterranean and Middle East, have made it imperative to set up a special body. That is why, on the initiative of the Federal Board of the Socialist Alliance, the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples was founded at the beginning of April this year.

In this short space of time, the League has shown lively activity. Representatives of the League have had useful talks with leaders of the Soviet Committee for the Protection of Peace, and several days ago also with representatives of the Italian Peace Movement. Representatives of the League took part in the work of the 5th World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, in Hiroshima. Its representatives also took part in the work of the two "round table" conferences, at which prominent persons from East and West Europe met to discuss problems in connection with the relaxation of tension in Europe, disarmament and the creation of atom-free zones. The 3rd Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries, held in Belgrade at the beginning of this month, should also be mentioned in connection with the League's activity. The Belgrade Conference contributed to the further strengthening of this organisation and pointed out the need for closer association and co-operation between all anti-colonial movements. The League also took the initiative for association with the Bulgarian and Rumanian peace movements.

Increased activity of all organisations and movements which strive for peace should be expected in connection with the relaxation of tension in the world. This activity will express itself in the most varied forms and rally the broadest social strata. The Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples will face still bigger tasks next year, both in respect of the further association and co-operation with similar organisations, and for studying various aspects of the contemporary struggle for peace, both for the sake of its own activity and for that of helping other of our organisations and institutions which participate, directly or indirectly, in the consideration of various proposals and suggestions connected with questions of the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world. When speaking of the international relations of our social organisations, we should not lose sight of other forms of association with foreign countries, in which an enormous number of our citizens are engaged, and which go to increase interest in contemporary problems in the world.

For instance, it is well-known that the number of foreign tourists visiting Yugoslavia annually is rapidly approaching one million, but it is not so well known that the number of our citizens travelling abroad is also increasing rapidly. Last year alone, more than 180,000 Yugoslav citizens travelled to various countries. It is characteristic that over 19,000 students alone travelled abroad during 1958.

Another interesting fact should also be stressed. Namely, there is considerable interest abroad in studying at our universities. Owing to our limited capacity, however, we are in a position to meet numerous requests only partially. Nevertheless, students from 35 countries are studying at our universities, and students from seven more countries will come this term, so that the number of countries from which students come will reach 42. Thus, for instance, 50 new students are coming from Iraq and 50 from the United Arab Republic. It is characteristic that a series of social and political organisations, especially in Africa and Asia, apply through the Socialist Alliance for permission for their young people to study at our universities. We can already see that these requests will increase still more in the coming period, so that we are faced with the task of discussing this question more thoroughly and of taking appropriate measure. One need not stress the significance of this opportunity for boys and girls from other countries to acquire their vocational training at our higher schools, or its contribution to the development of friendship and acquaintance among peoples. It is characteristic that two papers on the problems of workers' management have been noticed among the first doctoral dissertations presented by foreign students at our universities.

The fact that young people from 20 countries took part in this year's construction work on the Highway should also be mentioned.

It is well-known that more than 200 Yugoslav experts are working in 15 Asian and African countries, and 200 more are due to leave during 1960 at the request of the governments of various countries. These are mostly young men and women, full of an unselfish desire to help the recently liberated countries. These are people to whom arrogance and the colonial attitude of under-rating other peoples are repugnant. The policy of interference in internal affairs is alien to them. They understand better than many others what backwardness and under-development mean, and how the struggle for the liquidation of backwardness can be successfully conducted even under the most difficult conditions.

## II

The large number of visits to our country, the interests in our internal development, in our foreign policy, are the result, not only of definite sympathy for socialist Yugoslavia, but the reflection of personal needs. There is an ever-growing number of people who see that capitalism is giving way to the new, socialist social system, but most of them are faced with the question of how the new system should be built. People want to familiarize themselves with the experiences of other countries, not in order to copy them, but to widen their own knowledge, so that talks, discussions, observations on the spot may prompt them to thought, to the creative examination of their own problems. That is why in all contacts and talks, we caution our friends that our practice, our experience has originated on our soil, under the specific conditions of the development of socialism in our country, that this experience is a component part of a much wider front of society's trend towards socialism, and that careless copying of our experiences might be wrong.

A very important characteristic of our socialist development is, however, attracting the greatest attention, and this is the question of the position of the citizen, man, in the first place the producer, in our society, i. e., the whole complex of questions comprised in the term socialist democracy. It is therefore not in the least surprising that most foreign delegations and individuals display the greatest interest in the system of social self-government, especially workers' management. Numerous questions are put about this, and they go into even to the minutest particulars. Most delegations talk directly with members of the workers' councils, and I must emphasise that these conversations are often more concrete and useful than a series of articles published abroad on the subject, of which some are written in a clumsy style and with a tendency to indulge in theoretical generalization.

Now, especially after our great successes in agriculture, the subject of agriculture and the socialist transformation of the village is also coming to the fore. Interest in this has rapidly increased in recent months, and next year we shall have to be prepared to receive a greater number of delegations and groups whose members want to study our policy in rural areas. Some of these groups request to be allowed to work for a time in agricultural enterprises.

As far as other questions are concerned, we may group them together under a number of headings. These are: the system of planning; the system of remuneration; the development of under-developed areas; the settlement of the national question and national policy in general; the constitutional system in our country and the basic characteristics of our people's authority; political and social organisations, especially the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

Of special interest is our recent past, particularly our experiences of the War and the Revolution. Understandably, foreign policy questions and the attitude of our country towards current international problems are the centre of attention, and lengthy discussions often take place on these questions.

Interest in our country is characterized by the publication of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugo-

slavia in many countries, so that the circulation of the Programme's foreign-language editions already runs to more than 200,000 copies. When we bear in mind that the Programme was written for our requirements, that its language, vocabulary, treatment of problems were designed for our people, the question of where this interest comes from logically arises.

I think that interest in the Programme results principally from three basic factors:

First, general world interest in socialist Yugoslavia.

Second, the absence of new, more up-to-date programmes of parties and organisations of the working class, i. e., the fact which is often referred to today as the „crisis of programmes in the labour and progressive movement“.

And third, the big campaign started in connection with the adoption of the Programme at the 7th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has certainly aroused great interest among people engaged in studying contemporary problems within the labour movement.

This interest in our attitude also reflects the need for the principled solution of current problems of socialism. This will certainly be a process of some length, but a number of facts convince us that the cheering up has started and that the realization of the contemporary problems of socialist development will have to assume greater proportions in the coming period, and to manifest itself in more serious and comprehensive efforts. This also means that in the coming period, an increasing number of parties of the working class and people dealing with the scientific socialism will engage more seriously in treating the current problems of socialist development. This situation will demand further efforts of us, to, in studying and generalizing our own practice, as well as in studying and more substantially realizing the contemporary processes of social development in the world.

## III

The present international situation suggests gradual qualitative changes in the strengthening of the forces of progress and socialism. There is no need to stress the interest of the Socialist Alliance in the further favourable development of international relations. This is, after all, the basis of the foreign policy of our country. That is why we have supported all efforts directed at the liquidation of the „cold war“, at the strengthening of co-operation among peoples, and at the creation of conditions for greater security and peace in the world.

The further decline of the forces of the „cold war“ will inevitably influence the present state of affairs within the labour movement, in the sense of further qualitative changes, and the working class must be able to perform its vanguard role under these new conditions. Parties and movements of the working class cannot merely play a subservient part in the current process of relaxation of tension, not only because this might adversely affect the further development of international relations, but also because the conservative forces have very limited objectives in their relaxation of tension policy. These objectives do not offer prospects for the firm or lasting consolidation of peace.

That is why in all our contacts and talks we pay the greatest attention to questions which are of wider interest and on which a greater degree of agreement exists. We lay controversial questions aside, so that they may be realized and explained more clearly in the course of time.

The main question on which the greatest degree of co-operation between parties and organisations of the working class is possible, is that of the struggle for peace. There is at present no party or organisation of the working class which does not stress the need for the consolidation and strengthening of peace in its programme. This is not controversial. But the question is how, in what manner should peace be safeguarded? There are different concepts and explanations of this. Obviously it is necessary to talk, to discuss these



questions of the methods of the struggle for the consolidation of peace, and to bring a constructive spirit — a spirit of greater mutual understanding — to these talks. Today, it is more or less clear to all men and women that mankind does not want to end up in a big crematorium. Those forces who want to use atomic and hydrogen energy as the fuel for such a crematorium must be branded, isolated and prevented from doing so. This can be done only if there is greater activity and mutual understanding among the parties and movements of the working class.

Further, the experience of the past few decades has shown that the rift within the working class is most harmful to the working class itself. This rift is encouraged in various quarters. It has been proved, for instance, that anti-communism, as a political orientation of individual movements, especially if it is harboured in labour parties, can be of benefit only to the reactionary pro-fascist militaristic and adventure-seeking forces. In the same way, the classification of the Social-Democratic movement in the category of „social-fascism“ has been harmful to the labour movement itself.

The European labour movement should draw the necessary lessons from the recent past, both for its own sake because of its attitude towards the young labour, progressive and national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are beginning to assume an ever greater role in the world and which will be an ever more active factor in coming events and international developments. There is a tendency to extend the rift in the European labour movement to non-European areas. In the present struggle for active coexistence and for the consolidation of peace, this would be an adverse element hampering the regular and painless development of international relations.

Further, the need for a thorough analysis of contemporary capitalist society is ever clearer. It is necessary to analyse the process of stratification and of integration, the present role of the monopolies, the role of the State and of its apparatus, the influence of the victory of socialism in a large part of the world, the repercussions of the rapid and definitive disintegration of the colonial system, etc. These analyses are necessary to the working class and to all progressive forces in the further orientation of their conscious action, for a more effective influence upon the social processes. Let us see the course of the latest debate in West Europe on the problem of nationalization and the attitude of the labour parties and trade unions towards this question. Some are against nationalization, others are in favour, but the number of effective and scientific analyses of the various aspects of that problem in present conditions is small. We maintain that nationalization without the participation of workers in the management of the nationalized enterprises offers no prospects to the working class and arouses no interest among workers in the current discussions. These and other questions should be discussed in an atmosphere conducive to a clearer realization of the problems.

Or let us, for instance, take the problem of the labour movement and the youth. Labour parties, primarily in Europe, are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that their programmes do not attract young people. The British Labour party noted that during the last elections they voted predominantly Conservative. A commission has now been set up for the purpose of restoring the youth organisations of the British Labour party. The French Social-Democratic students have dissociated themselves from Guy Mollet's policy towards Algeria; there is a conflict between the young German Social-Democrats and the party leadership; the pro-Saragat youth organisation in Italy has joined the youth of Nenni's Socialist party, etc. Some social-democratic parties have no youth organisations at all. Here again it is necessary to make a deeper analysis and hold constructive discussions of the aspirations of the present young generation, and especially

on how to activate it in the struggle for peace, for youth has vested interests in the preservation of peace.

Here is another example. It is generally known that the labour parties know very little about one another. Participation in congresses and in other manifestations is not enough and cannot replace real co-operation, for the further development of international relations demands a different attitude to the question of co-operation within the labour movement. It can be said that two parallel processes are manifest within the labour movement. One of them reflects the need for paying greater attention to the problem in one's own country, while the other points out the need for more intensive mutual contacts, with less emphasis on the declaratory side and phrases about solidarity, in which the essential problems are evaded, and more on study meetings, which add to better mutual acquaintance and the more substantial grasp of problems.

I have enumerated only some of the problems, chiefly for the purpose of indicating the orientation of our political organisations in their co-operation with other parties and movements. This orientation was not conceived yesterday. Nevertheless it is making its way with a certain amount of difficulty, encountering resistance in the objective situation and in the conceptions and past practices of a series of movements with which we are trying to establish co-operation.

Let us take one more example for the sake of illustration. During recent weeks, our social organisations have received a series of suggestions and proposals stressing the necessity and usefulness of the development of co-operation between the countries of the Balkan Peninsula and in the Adriatic area. I must emphasize that it is pleasant to note that account is finally being taken of this question too. There is no need, however, to persuade us of the need for co-operation in the Balkans. Even during the War, our revolutionary movement made enormous efforts to lay sound foundations for post-war Balkan co-operation. How otherwise can we explain such facts as the formation of Italian anti-fascist brigades and divisions on our territory, the formation of Bulgarian partisan detachments and brigades, the enormous assistance given to the national-liberation struggle in Albania, the formation of Rumanian and Hungarian detachments, etc. Immediately after the War, Comrade Tito went to Bulgaria and Rumania to sign the well-known Bled Agreement with Comrade Dimitrov. All these actions were aimed at strengthening the friendship and co-operation among the Balkan peoples. It is not our fault, however, that all these efforts and results were thrown away and a situation in which there could be no question of co-operation was created, so to say, overnight. We again engaged in developing co-operation in the Balkans during the period of normalization of our relations with the socialist countries. But again, not by our fault, a situation was created which annulled these efforts.

The present steps may have favourable results only if they mean a determined effort to develop all-round co-operation among the Balkan countries. As in the past, socialist Yugoslavia is interested in the attainment of genuine results in this drive, and not of transitory propaganda and manifestations. We are interested in having the whole complex of questions in connection with the co-operation in the Balkans thoroughly examined, in the recognition of adverse elements which have been and are hindering this co-operation, in the gradual removal of these elements, and in the creation, by the efforts of all interested parties, of a atmosphere which would lead to favourable results. Our political and social organisations will engage themselves in this direction, in the hope of contributing to greater understanding and lasting relations.

The present international situation and the prospect of further relaxation of tension in the world offer possibilities.

for the still greater activity of our political and social organisations, in the first place of the Socialist Alliance.

True, we have recently read and heard claims to the contrary, namely, that the present situation, when talks take place between the blocs, will lead to the isolation of those countries which are outside blocs, and that this situation will result in a decline of Yugoslavia's foreign policy activity and the isolation of our labour movement. Such a theory could only be put forward by those who do not understand contemporary developments.

It should be remembered that up to yesterday, so to say, the "theory" was put forward that the kulak elements would be strengthened in Yugoslavia, that the stratification of the rural population would take place, that farm production would decline and industrial production come to a standstill. Fact has, however, belied these "theories". Fact will also give lie to the "theory" of isolation of Yugoslavia in foreign affairs.

As far as we are concerned, we are more than satisfied, for the present developments confirm that the basic foreign policy of our country rests on sound foundations, that the principles on which it rests — principles of active coexistence and the development of an all-round co-operation among peoples and states — are gaining affirmation in international relations. This encourages us to develop still greater and more comprehensive activity in this respect in the coming period.

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE on Yugoslav-Cambodian Talks

### — ENVIABLE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN ALL SPHERES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES —

*A joint communique was published in Belgrade on December 7 on the Yugoslav-Cambodian talks held during the visit of the delegation of the Kingdom of Cambodia to Yugoslavia. The text of the joint communique reads as follows:*

**A**T THE invitation of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, a delegation of Cambodia, headed by his Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, visited Yugoslavia from November 25 to December 7, 1959.

The Cambodian Premier was accompanied by Mr. Son Sam, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Var Cammel, Ambassador of Cambodia to Yugoslavia, Mr. Cho Seng, Vice-President of the National Assembly, General Ngo Hou, Commander of the Khmer Royal Air Force, Mr. Ang Kim Koan, Deputy of the National Assembly, and M. Phuong Margen, Assistant Secretary General of the High Crown Council.

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the members of the Cambodian delegation visited various regions of Yugoslavia. During their visit to several industrial plants, scientific institutions and agricultural holdings, they had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the social and economic development in Yugoslavia. Touched by the

extremely friendly reception extended them, they expressed their profound gratitude to the Yugoslav peoples.

Talks were held during the visit on international problems of mutual interest as well as the measures to be taken with a view to assuring the further development of cooperation between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Cambodia. Cambodia was represented at these talks, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and friendship, by Prime Minister Norodom Sihanouk, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Son Sam, and the Cambodian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Mr. Var Cammel, while Yugoslavia was represented by President Josip Broz Tito, Vice-Presidents of the Federal Executive Council Edvard Kardelj and Mijalko Todorović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Koča Popović, Secretary General of the President of the Republic Leo Mates and Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Josip Djerdja.

#### I.

It was noted during the exchange of views that as a result of the active efforts of all peoples, especially the non-aligned countries and the governments of the big powers, the forces of peace in the world had been notably strengthened.

Both sides welcomed the renewal of contacts between the representatives of the big powers and expressed the hope that these meetings would lead to the abatement of tension and the settlement of international problems by peaceful means. In order to bring this about they consider that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be applied by all countries, big and small alike, in their mutual relations. They consider it imperative in this respect, that all countries, especially the non-aligned ones, should strengthen their efforts to promote closer links and co-operation on the international plan, primarily within the framework of the United Nations Organization.

Special attention was devoted during the talks to problems of disarmament and international assistance to the insufficiently developed countries, the solution of these issues being of vital significance for the accomplishment of a lasting peace. Both sides consider the uneven economic development in the world and the existing forms of inequality and imperialism, one of the fundamental sources of instability that prevail in the world. In this respect they reached agreement on the need to continue and strengthen their efforts in order to contribute to the promptest possible solution of these problems.

Both parties firmly hope for the implementation of a large-scale plan of economic and technical assistance for the development of the insufficiently-developed regions, primarily through and under the control of the United Nations or by way of bilateral agreements free of all political conditions.

#### II.

It was noted with pleasure during the talks that conspicuous results had been achieved in all fields of relations between the two countries, owing particularly to the identity of views on many international problems. The visit of Prince



Norodom Sihanouk to Yugoslavia in 1956 and that of the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Svetozar Vukmanović, to Cambodia in 1957 made a notable contribution in this respect. Both delegations agreed to broaden co-operation between the two countries and make it still more fruitful.

Genuine possibilities were noted for the promotion of all forms of economic co-operation and the conclusion reached that the agreements on trade, payments and technical co-operation constituted a solid basis for the development of the co-operation desired by both peoples. It was agreed in this connection to exchange the corresponding economic delegations in the near future.

With a view to strengthening and developing co-operation in the cultural sphere, the two sides intend to conclude a cultural convention in the near future.

In view of the fact that direct contacts between statesmen have proved a valuable contribution to the understanding and rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Cambodia, the two parties agreed to continue this practice whenever necessary.

The mutual wish was expressed that President Josip Broz Tito, who has accepted with great pleasure the invitation of his Majesty Norodom Suramarit of Cambodia to visit the Kingdom of Cambodia, should do so when he finds it convenient.

## Meetings and Talks

### ... On the Governmental Level

Delegation of Educational workers from the U.A.R. in Belgrade. — A delegation of educational workers from the United Arab Republic headed by Hikmet Hashem, President of Cairo University, arrived on December 9 for a fortnight's visit to Yugoslavia. During their stay in this country, the members of delegation will visit universities and various educational, scientific and cultural institutions in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Talks are also scheduled with the representatives of the Secretariat for Culture and Education of the Federal Executive Council and the heads of universities.

Representative of U.N. Technical Assistance Programme Visits Slavko Komar. — Slavko Komar, member of the Federal Executive Council, received Henry Laurence, representative of the U.N. Technical Assistance for Yugoslavia, on December 12. Talks were held on this occasion on problems pertaining to further Yugoslav co-operation with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) within the framework of the U. N. Technical Assistance programme.

### ... of Socialist Alliance

Pietro Nenni in Yugoslavia. — Pietro Nenni, Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, accompanied by Nino Fogliarelli, member of the Central Committee of the Italian

Socialist Party arrived in Belgrade on December 9, at the invitation of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. The distinguished Italian guests had talks in the Federal Committee on problems of mutual interest to the two movements. The leaders of the Italian Socialist Party were received by President Josip Broz-Tito on December 11.

### ... of Veterans Federation

Delegation of Ethiopian Patriot Union visits Yugoslavia. — A delegation of the Ethiopian Patriot Union, headed by Senator Shankhut, arrived in Belgrade on December 3 for a fortnight's visit to Yugoslavia. The members of the delegation conferred with representatives of the Yugoslav Veterans Federation whose guests they are, and were also received by Alexander Ranković, President of the Yugoslav Veterans Federation.

### ... of Trade Unions

Venezuelan Trade Union delegation. — The Secretary General of the National Confederation of Venezuelan Trade Unions, Augusto Malave Villalba, Secretary of the Venezuelan Farm workers Union Ali Munoz, and President of the Builders Union Juan Ferrera arrived in Belgrade on December 10 for a visit to Yugoslavia. During their stay in this country, the members of the Venezuelan delegation — guests of the Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions — will become acquainted with the Yugoslav social-economic system and role of the trade union organizations.

## Other Contacts

Representatives of Federation of Handicrafts Chambers in Italy. — The Sixth Congress of the National Confederation of Italian Handicrafts, which was held in Florence from December 4 to 6, was attended by representatives of the Federation of Yugoslav Handicrafts Chambers.

Guests from Ivory Coast. — Adam Asy Kammil, President of the National Committee for the Liberation of the Ivory Coast, arrived in Belgrade on December 8 as a guest of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples. The purpose of this visit by the eminent Negro leader is to gain closer acquaintance with the social, political and economic system of this country.

Talks in Peace League. — A delegation of the Italian Peace Committee visited Belgrade on December 7 and 8 at the invitation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples. The Secretary General, Velio Spano, and members of the Committee, Lucio Luzzatto and Ugo Vartezzaghi, took part in the talks held on that occasion on the Italian side, while Yugoslavia was represented by Krsto Bulajić, President of the League, Miroslav Vitorović, Secretary General, and members Aleš Bebler and Mišo Pavičević. Various problems pertaining to the struggle for peace in the present international situation, as well as the prospects for cooperation of the two movements were discussed at the talks. A joint statement was issued at the conclusion of the talks.



Delegation of Anti-colonial Movement of Kenya in Belgrade. — A delegation of the anti-colonial movement of Kenya arrived in Belgrade on December 10, at the invitation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples. During their stay in Yugoslavia, the members of the delegation will become acquainted with the activities of the public services and the social-economic development of this country.



## XXVII<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL FAIR IN NOVI SAD YUGOSLAVIA

### Negotiations and Agreements

#### ... Economic

**Yugoslav Trade delegation in Turkey.** — A Yugoslav delegation left for Turkey on December 4 where it will hold talks within the Mixed Yugoslav-Turkish Trade Commission on the promotion of commodity exchanges and regulation of payments between the two countries. The Yugoslav delegation is headed by Dr. Ivo Barbalić, Secretary of the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade.

**Trade delegation visits Asian countries.** — A Yugoslav economic delegation headed by Miloš Lalović, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, left Belgrade on December 11 for Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The delegation will also visit the Lebanon. On this occasion the delegation will return the visit made to Yugoslavia by an Afghan trade delegation at the beginning of 1959. Talks in India will deal with regular commodity exchanges between the two countries, and in Pakistan with the broadening of economic cooperation and increase of trade. Several Yugoslav enterprises have already taken part in the construction of hydro-electric projects in Pakistan and there are genuine possibilities for the establishment of still broader cooperation in the future.

**Session of Yugoslav-Italian Trade Chamber.** — The Yugoslav-Italian Trade Chamber convened at its regular annual session in Belgrade on December 11. It was noted that greater efforts should be made on both sides to avoid the stagnation of mutual commodity exchanges. The structure of Yugoslav exports to Italy was also discussed on this occasion. Although the two economies are of a complementary character, the finished and semi-finished products Yugoslavia is in a position to supply to Italy are still inadequately represented on the export lists.

**Yugoslav-Rumanian Hydrotechnical Commission Convenes.** — The sixth regular session of the Yugoslav-Rumanian Hydrotechnical Commission was opened in Bucharest on December 2. The agenda of this session, which will last several days, includes various problems pertaining to the regulation and exploitation of the frontier water resources, as well as the survey of activities of the two coun-

tries in the implementation of the previously-adopted decisions of the Mixed Commission. Six sub-Committees were formed at the first session in which experts will deliberate on current problems pertaining to the regulation and exploitation of the frontier region water resources.

#### ... Cultural

**Yugoslav-Hungarian Agreement on cultural cooperation concluded.** — An agreement on cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Hungary for 1960 was concluded in Budapest on December 8. The successful preliminary negotiations were held between the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary and the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations of the Hungarian Government. The programme of cultural cooperation calls for exchanges of scientists, educational workers and scholarship students. Exchanges of musicians and dramatic artists have also been arranged, while provision was made for cooperation in the study of Yugoslav cultural-historical monuments in Hungary and Hungarian folk lore in Vojvodina. The programme also covers the renewal of cooperation in the field of publishing activities, the sale of books and other publications, as well as collaboration between motion picture enterprises.

### Chronicle of Political Events

**November 29** — Republic Day was formally celebrated throughout the country. Aleksandar Ranković, vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, spoke at a mass meeting of about 50,000 persons in Kraljevo.

**December 2** — The Third Regular Anti-Colonial Conference of the Mediterranean and Middle East was inaugurated in Belgrade. The Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples acts as host to this Conference, which ended on December 5. The representatives of the anti-colonial movements of Algeria, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Oman, the United Arab Republic, Tunisia and Yugoslavia took part in this meeting. The delegates of Northern Rhodesia attended the Conference as observers.

## To our readers

The editors of the "Review of International Affairs" kindly request our readers to send their observations, wishes and objections concerning the general conception of the review, the amount of space allotted to the individual columns and subjects especially those relating to the Yugoslav reality, the treatment of individual subject and quality of the articles, style, language etc., to the editorial office, Beograd, Jovanova 16. The editors thank the readers in advance for the valuable assistance thus extended.



After the addresses of greeting of the delegates, the Conference heard the individual reports and then opened a general discussion. A resolution of the Conference was adopted and the text of a message to be sent by the participants in the conference to the United Nations Organization approved. The Conference elected a new Secretariat of the Permanent Committee for the struggle against colonialism in the Mediterranean and Middle East.

**December 3** — The Presidium of the Central Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions convened, with Svetozar Vukmanović in the chair. Current problems of international co-operation of the Yugoslav trade unions were examined on that occasion.

**December 5** — The mortal remains of Dušan Popović, Secretary of the Serbian Social Democratic Party, which were removed from Highgate Cemetery in London were solemnly buried in Belgrade in honour of the fortieth anniversary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Trade Unions and Communist Youth League. Dušan Petrović-Sane, Organisational Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Serbia, delivered the funeral oration before several thousand citizens and in the presence of Aleksandar Ranković, Petar Stambolić, Svetozar Vukmanović and Jovan Veselinov, members of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

**December 6** — Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, held a news conference at which he stated that the talks between the members of the Cambodian delegation and the Yugoslav leaders had taken place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual confidence. Premier Sihanouk stated on this occasion that His Majesty Norodom Sumarit, King of Cambodia, had invited President Tito to visit Cambodia.

**December 8** — The Secretary General of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Josip Broz-Tito, visited the „Rad“ building and civil engineering enterprise in Belgrade and inspected the plans, blueprints and small scale models submitted for the competition for the best design of the building of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists.

**December 10** — The Congress of the Yugoslav Educational and Research Workers Union was held in Belgrade from December 10 to 12.

**December 10** — Petar Stambolić, President of the Federal People's Assembly, and Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, paid a three-day visit to the People's Republic of Macedonia. On this occasion Comrades Stambolić and Kardelj visited several economic organizations, people's committees and social and political organizations where they conferred with the local leaders and executives.

**December 10** — The Budget Committee began work in the Federal People's Assembly with the debate of the draft Federal Budget for 1960. An explanation of the draft budget proposal was given by Veljko Zeković, Secretary of the Federal Executive Council.

**December 11** — President Josip Broz Tito received Pietro Nenni, Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party and

Central Committee member Nino Fogliaresi who arrived on a visit to Yugoslavia.

**December 12** — The Zagreb City Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia convened at a formal session, thus bringing to an end the celebrations marking the Fortieth Anniversary of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. The session was attended by Josip Broz Tito, Secretary General of the Yugoslav League of Communists. Marjan Cvetković, Secretary of the Zagreb City Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia presented a Charter to President Tito, wherein the communists of the Croatian capital expressed their tribute and gratitude for his revolutionary work in their midst. The Secretary General of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia made a speech in which he stated among other things that the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Yugoslav League of Communists was a festive occasion for the whole people, and that millions participated spontaneously in various manifestations held during this, the jubilee year. Commenting on the accusations made that the Yugoslav communists are devoid of internationalist feeling, Josip Broz-Tito stated that 1,200 of the best communists went to fight with the Spanish people during the Civil War, that the Yugoslav communists succeeded in enlisting several hundred thousand people for the defence of the threatened Czechoslovak Republic on the eve of Hitler's attack, and that on the first day of fascist aggression on the USSR the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party issued a proclamation calling all Yugoslav peoples to rise and fight for the defence of their own country, and the first socialist country in the world. Referring to the international political situation, Comrade Tito stated that pacification is indispensable, and that this tendency is manifest in all peoples and countries throughout the world, but that this objective could not be accomplished without the observation of the principle of active and peaceful coexistence. Blocs were not a suitable solution for the accomplishment of such principles, as coexistence should embrace all countries, not only the Eastern and Western countries, which are aligned in the existing blocs. Speaking on relations with the countries of the Eastern camp, the Secretary General of the Yugoslav League of Communists expressed his regret with regard to certain attitudes of the Hungarian Party leaders at the Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party which coincide with the anti-Yugoslav campaign, and which do not contribute to the further improvement of relations between the two countries. As for the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav views on crucial international problems are almost identical with the Soviet ones: Yugoslavia will continue in the future to extend her support to any attitude which contributes to the consolidation of the peace. At the end of his speech Comrade Tito stated that the present international situation is far more favourable, owing to the efforts made to assure the peaceful settlement of international issues.



## News in Brief

✿ In 1947, the Yugoslav Air Transport enterprise (JAT) maintained services between Belgrade and the republican centres and a few major tourist resorts in the country, and only three foreign lines. In 1951, JAT maintained services on 21 internal and 13 international lines. A total 32,717 passengers were transported in 1947, compared with 135,404 during January–September 1959.

✿ Over one quarter of the three million persons employed in the social sector in Yugoslavia are women.

✿ A total 35,568 disabled Liberation War veterans receive 4,403,000,000 dinars personal invalid pensions annually; 150,393 families of Liberation War veterans receive 3,810,000,000 dinars family invalid pensions annually; 31,755 orphans of Liberation War fighters receive over 3,000,000,000 dinars annually; 25,821 orphans of victims of fascist terror also receive financial assistance.

✿ In 1956, the average earnings of workers and employees of all categories in Yugoslavia totaled 10,755 dinars, whereas they averaged 18,284 dinars in 1960. In the meantime, pensions will have risen from an average of 5,820 dinars in 1956 to 9,020 dinars in 1960.

## Diplomatic Diary

December 6 — Zvonko Grahek, former Department Chief in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador to Cuba.

December 6 — President Josip Broz Tito gave his approval for the newly appointed Cuban Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Gustavo Aldereghi.

December 12 — Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received a farewell visit from Honorio Roigto, the Argentine Ambassador.

December 13 — The governments of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Tunisia have agreed raise their diplomatic missions to embassy rank.

## Our Current Account

"THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" HAS  
CURRENT ACCOUNT AT THE NATIONAL BANK  
AND IT READS

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31806/123

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